

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

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TO one employed in a maritime museum and editing a journal in maritime history the increased interest in all things nautical since the end of World War II is obvious. After the war old faces began to appear once more to pick up the threads of interest that had been let drop after Pearl Harbor. But along with the old faces appeared great numbers of new ones and the boom was on. Nor has that interest diminished in the last six years but rather seems to hold its old devotees and continues to add others.

Maritime history is not a formalized academic study. It has been, nevertheless, a branch of history that, over the years, has attracted young men in great numbers, and those who are not young in years are young in spirit. It is, too, a rare subject that bridges the wide spaces between the academic world, sport, and industry. Nearly everyone who sails for recreation also seems to have some interest in the history of maritime activities. Many of those active in the field are, or have been, yachtsmen, fishermen, or sailors, either in the navy or the merchant marine. One cannot be engaged with the sea without apparently being interested in its past. This is not always true with the land. A man can most certainly race automobiles without being interested in the history of race tracks or the evolution of the gasoline engine. But one cannot race yachts without learning something of the history of yachting or the development of the boat that one owns.

Then, too, the element of chance always associated with the sea is attractive in itself. No matter how modern the ship, or how refined, or how safe, when one is on the sea he is meeting the same uncertainties, the same conditions, that have always met seafarers. One encounters the same difficulties in a steel craft that his remote ancestor did with a log or bark canoe and so it is a great frontier that has never been completely conquered or successfully subdued and never will be, for here the forces of nature are so great, so gigantic, so changing, so unpredictable that the unforeseen can always happen no matter how careful the plans or minute the calculated risk.

In this number of NEPTUNE the first two articles illustrate the way that maritime history cuts across academic lines and appeals to differing ages. The first article is by a scholar of many years experience who is primarily an anthropologist and folklorist, while the second article is by a young man still a college undergraduate but a yachtsman and typical of the postwar enthusiastic but serious workers. While the two articles may seem superficially to have little connection and appeal to readers of widely different tastes, actually they are closer than one might suppose, for Barbeau's is connected with the most extensive folk craft that arose in America during the sailing ship period, while Cabot's is the study of local types of working craft. Thus, both reach into the very roots of the maritime folk life of the Atlantic coast.

There was, however, more than the local scene, and readers of NEPTUNE may be interested, if they are in the Salem region on 25 June, to see what the economic effect of a great maritime, seafaring tradition in the nineteenth century had on the people of a coastal New England city. On that day, houses and gardens of Chestnut Street will be open to the public and there will be an opportunity to see to what heights the village carpenter and cabinet maker could rise when stimulated by the wealth and vigor of a rich and successful foreign commerce.

ERNEST S. DODGE

Peabody Museum of Salem



'All Hands Aboard Scrimshawing'

BY MARIUS BARBEAU¹

I

ARISING tide of ships rippled the high seas, in the bountiful area of the Pacific where the sea otter had already dwindled on its rookeries because of its ruthless extermination for the benefit of the Canton trade. A siren-like lure now drew a new class of sea-rovers at first from France and England, then mostly from New England. They were the whalers. Squat and tub-like, their vessels were equipped for hunting and capturing whales and sea mammals. They produced fats and oils, bone and ivory, then much in demand for lubrication, lighting, and sundry home utilities. The heyday of the ships engaged in the sea otter fur trade was from 1785 to 1840, whereas the peak of the whalers' activities ranged somewhat later, mostly from 1810 to 1870.

Whaling had long been a specialty of the Basques of the gulf of Gascony in southwestern France, as well as of the Scandinavians of the peninsula in the far north. The Basques were already whaling about Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, when America was discovered. Its inception in Europe was prehistoric. Some of the northern tribes in the New World, too, were whalers in their own right, for instance, the Eskimos of the Polar Seas, the Nootkas of Vancouver Island, and the coast Algonquians of what was to become New England. The native tradition of whaling among those tribes went back to their remote Kamchatka ancestors in eastern Siberia and Japan. For it is there that originated the toggle, the detachable harpoon head, the float attached to the harpoon head, aconite poisoning, and other whaling devices later transmitted without much of a change by the Indians to the white Americans. During the early period, the harpooners at the service of the colonists at Cape Cod, Nantucket, and Narragansett, were all Algonquians.

¹ The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, formerly the Viking Fund, through a Grant-in-aid, has enabled the author to pursue his research in the whalers' arts and activities, also in the folk crafts of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania.

and the progress from shore whaling by stampeding the mammal to the sea chase abroad was slow and gradual.

For the New Englanders the whaling industry went back to 1712, when the Nantucketers discovered the sperm whale out of which spermaceti was obtained. But the French maintained their advantage in the hunt of whales of several varieties, mostly in the North Atlantic, for many years. As late as 1744, they employed 27,500 seamen in 564 ships, three times as many as England and her colonies. But their time came to an end. In 1771 the American colonists already had 183 whalers on the Atlantic, and their growing initiative, curbed for a while by the War of Independence, was resumed as early as 1786. In that year 539 ships were employed, and the European competitors were gradually eliminated. Whaling swept onward, from the close of the War of 1812, and when, in the 1850's, it reached its height, more than 700 whaleships from the ports of New England swept the Atlantic towards Africa, bypassed Cape Horn into the Pacific, scoured the South Seas, and followed the trail of the sea mammals to Japan, the Northwest Coast, and Bering Sea. The first whalers to capture sperm whales in the Pacific were the ship *Beaver* of Nantucket, and the ship *Rebecca* of New Bedford, both in 1791. But it was not until 1835 that the Arctic Ocean via Bering Sea was penetrated by a Yankee whaling ship. From then on the Polar Seas, entered either in the west or the east, became a favorite resort of American whalers.² Their trade by then was supplying the world with illuminating and lubricating oils, and with whalebone.

The life of whalers on the high seas was branded for the low ebb of its human standards. From the day when ordinary hands of mixed extractions often were forcibly enlisted or shanghaied aboard, to their return to port, a few years elapsed, usually three, four or even five years. Their ship, as often happened, foundered in a storm or on reefs, or they were killed in the hunt. Existence in narrow and filthy quarters during a prolonged cruise turned into a tale of inactivity, dullness and monotony, interrupted by days of peril and excitement when whales and storms conjured fury from the deep. Sickness and scurvy, for the lack of proper food and water, often broke out, and to make it worse, when the nerves were on edge and bad temper showed its ugly face, some captains and mates had the cruelty to flog their men. Officers quarrelled among themselves, and mutiny more than once flared up above and below the decks.

² Report of Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State on Cod and Whale Fisheries (Philadelphia, 1791). Clifford W. Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler* (New York, 1942). Arthur C. Watson, 'Scrimshaw,' *Technology Review* (March, 1938). *The Magazine Antiques* (October, 1935), 153-155.

Some ships as a result changed hands or never went back to the home port, as is reported in some traditional narratives of the North Pacific Coast Indians.

'Gamming' was a relief in sight when the captain or the mate went a-visiting their fellows on another whaler that happened to drift nearby. But the crew usually was allowed to step ashore only at an anchorage in the South Seas or elsewhere, when the ship had to call for fresh water, fruit, and vegetables; also for relaxation and revelry, and to get rid of scurvy. There, the most restless spied their chance and deserted, to fraternize with the natives or to be picked up by other callers. This and more happened, in the course of a wild life where the law took care of itself.

Another escape from the dullness and brooding on a floating jail turned out to be an activity on board which assumed the name of scrimshaw, and scrimshawing ever after remained the specialty of American whalemén.³ Its need and phenomenal growth in the last century speak for themselves in the very words of sea captains and mates who underwent the experiences of whalers at first hand through the years, and recorded them in many log books and journals.⁴

II

In her diary, Sallie G. Smith who followed her husband out to sea (on the bark *Ohio* of New Bedford, in 1875-1877) tells us that 'Fred has made some nice crochet needles to-day and he has been learning how to use them.' She added (19 December 1877): 'I have helped Fred some; he is making a box of bone'; and (30 January 1877): 'Fred has been making me a work box, and finished it to-day.'⁵

Here is a typical word picture, by John S. Coquin, of the life on board ship, with a mention of scrimshawn articles:

1870: Making coco-nut dippers . . . The capt. made me three dippers. Sat. 31st: Scrimshawing. [This term is often repeated.] Time rolls on, and the old year dies.

1871: Coast of Africa. Scrimshawing, making dippers and picture frames. [The 'making of dippers' occurs frequently.] Making jagging irons [or jagging wheels]. Feel rather disheartened. Home looks distant. My mind still will wander home-wards . . . I can almost jump overboard. Scrimshawing. Making canes and riding

³ Arthur C. Watson, 'Scrimshaw,' *Technology Review* (March, 1938), calls scrimshaw 'a triumphant answer to an acute problem . . . the most soul-shattering monotony known to industrial pursuit.'

⁴ These many records are preserved in manuscript form in the archives of several institutions, such as: The New Bedford Whaling Museum, The Peabody Museum of Salem, The Massachusetts Historical Society, the Marine Museum at Mystic, Connecticut, The Mariners' Museum at Newport News, Virginia, and others along the Atlantic watershed.

⁵ Mystic, Marine Museum, *MS. Journal, Bark Ohio. 1875-1877*.

whips, and husked some coconuts. Scrimshawing. Sold a cane to the mate of an English brig [at St. Helena, on 14 November]. Making dippers. I have made twelve dippers, and I am making one for the steward. Scrimshawing. Making rulers and a violin bridge, dippers and other notions. The end of seventy-one [1871] is fast approaching, also is eternity. [In 1872:] Manufacturing dippers, canes, rulers, jaggging wheels. Captain gave me a bone stick. Finished a bird-cage. Making skipjacks and picture frames [often repeated elsewhere], jaggging knives, and more canes, etc.⁶

The dullness of the inactive life aboard is expressed in countless entries in other log books and journals. For instance, in an entry in the ship *Abigail*, in 1836, we read: 'I am unsettled in mind for the want of work. Saw nothing, and work all dun. An idle head is a workshop for the devil. Employed scrimshan.'⁷ And in the journal of the ship *Congress*, 1857: 'Saw the Island of Deserlation [Desolation: Cape of New Holland]. We live in hopes of seeing whales by and bye.'⁸

Captain Allan of *John Bunyon*, of New London, Connecticut, varied his comments according to his moods, while close to the coast of Greenland:

Dusty times, I tell you . . . Strange works and strange times, I assure you . . . Hard old times . . . The old man [captain] and the Mate had a growl . . . Easy time now. The old man and the mate are on good terms, but I guess it wont last long.⁹

Whether in the Atlantic, the Arctic or the Pacific, the same complaint prevailed through the decades for the want of whales and excitement. Of it we find more evidence in the log book of the bark *Elizabeth* (1854-1859):

Saw nothing, dul times. O dear o dear! [in 31 January:] All hands scrinshoning . . . [in May:] All hands discouraged. The same dul times . . . The capt. did not whale on Sundays. Whales in sight, but of no use to us, the Capt. being saintish today.¹⁰

As for Sunday observance on a whaler, caustic comments have found their way into such private scripts as Mrs. E. Brewster's, wife of the master, in her 'Journal of a voyage to sea,' on the ship *Tiger*, from Stonington (1845):

⁶ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. (Captain Alexander A. Tripp), *Journal of a Voyage in the Atlantic Ocean on board bark Globe as kept by John S. Coquin, 1869-1872*.

⁷ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Ship Abigail, N. Bedford, Capt. Wm. H. Reynard, 1835-1838, to Pacific*.

⁸ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Journal on board ship Congress, 1857. Voyage to Indian Ocean*.

⁹ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *The John Bunyan. Capt. Allan, of and from New London*.

¹⁰ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Bark Elizabeth. Book No. 12*.

[In 1847:] Capt. Gelett and wife are both of the Presbyterian church. Capt. G. does not whale on the Sabbath and is in high standing with the missionaries, here particularly. Aunt Forbes thinks it a dreadful sin to catch a whale on the Sabbath, and no Christian will do it.¹¹

A brighter side of sea life appears when the same observer, elsewhere, went on to write: 'Men are all singing and bawling "Doughnuts." Doughnuts tomorrow . . . is a custom among the whalemens—To make a batch of doughnuts to every thousand lbs of oil [secured from the whales].'

Captain Charles Courtney, on the ship *Cicero* from New Bedford (1856-1859), must have found some comfort in reporting, while in the Japan Sea: (In 1859) 'Nothing whatever to break the dull monotony of a spouter's life. Geo. Anderson off duty. Complaint—Ladys Fever.'¹²

The best way to combat the blight of inactivity was work. This was pointed out by Captain Arch Baker, Jr., of the bark *John A. Robb*, Fairhaven, Massachusetts (1857), on 3 January 1861: 'Today I feel the best that I have for the last eight months. Commenced squimshoning, the first I have done for the last six months.'¹³

For a whaler the best cure for dullness was the capture of whales. But where to find them, and when, remained a daily problem. In the log book of the first voyage (1850-1853) of the bark *Cossack*, in the far-distant Bering Sea close to Kamchatka, the captain writes:

Several ships seen in 1853. Dam poore whaleing. More ships than whales . . . About 30 ships in sight. Saw Diamede Isl . . . , East Cape and Cape Prince of Wales . . . Plenty of whales close to Diamedes. Walruses.¹⁴

So carving prevailed whenever there was a call for it. For instance, Captain John Sampson, of the bark *London Packet*, of New Bedford (28 September 1840), reports: 'All hands employed scrimshorning.'¹⁵ And Captain William H. Raynard, ship *Abigail*, of New Bedford (1835-1838), writes:

Times are so dull, this dog's age. Off Cocos isle. Rain, dull musick. (In February:) Saw nothin. That is the cry now days. The cooper is going ahead making tools for schrimshan. We had a fracas betwixt the cook and the stewart, the 20th Oct. All

¹¹ Mystic, Marine Museum, MS. *Journal of a voyage to sea. Sailed from Stonington, Nov. 4th 1845. Stonington Ship Tiger. Journal of Mrs. William E. Brewster, wife of Master.*

¹² New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Ship Cicero, New Bedford, Capt. Chas. Courtney, 1856-1859. In Japan Sea.*

¹³ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Bark John A. Robb, Fairhaven, Mass., Capt. Arch. Baker jr. Sailed 1857.*

¹⁴ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Bark Cossack. Log Book. First Voyage, 1850-1853.*

¹⁵ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Bark London Packet, Capt. John Sampson . . . , New Bedford, 1840.*

hands employed in schrimsa. She the *Abigail* was set afire by the cook. He then cut his throat.

While along the coast of Guinea, Captain Nehemiah West, on the brig *By Chance*, of the port of Dartmouth, was perhaps the first to use the words, in 1825-1826: 'All hands employed scrimshonting.'¹⁶ Ten years later, Captain David H. Bartlett, on the ship *Grand Turk*, in a voyage to the south Atlantic, used a similar expression, in 1835: 'Homeward bound scrimshonting. The Turning Lathe gowing.'¹⁷ Much later, on 17 November 1873, we find the expression, 'All scrimshawing,' in the log book of the bark *Merlin*,¹⁸ sailing in the Pacific under the command of Captain Albert A. Thomas.

So absorbed in carving were the whalers belonging to cabin or fore-castle that, according to Ashley, 'it once was a fiercely debated point among the New Bedford owners whether scrimshaw was not seriously detrimental to the success of the voyages.' For the fear of it, only the cabin was allowed this privilege. And Watson adds that 'on rare ships the captain forbade scrimshaw as a trivial pursuit damaging the discipline.'

Long before the words 'scrimshonting' or 'scrimshawing' were used in the log books and journals of American whalers, the craft of scrimshawing itself had already made its appearance, while still without a name of its own. As early as 1791, we find in John Hoskins' *Narrative of the Second Voyage of the Columbia* in the Pacific, a description of carvings (p. 206), weaving, fancy figures, mantels, etc. And John Boit's log of the *Second Voyage of the Columbia*, mentioned boxes decorated with pearl shells, which he saw among the Nootkas of Vancouver Island (p. 383).

More than a century later, in 1904, Captain George Comer, on the New Bedford schooner *Era* in Hudson Bay, stated in his log book that he had taken 'a picture of the carvings which the natives near Whale Point have made out of walrus teeth.'¹⁹

Other entries in log books suggest that scrimshaw was the object of some work in progress, for instance, on *John Bunyon*, under Captain Allan, on the coast of Greenland (on 20 July 18—):

Broke out meat and whales teeth and divided them among all hands. Myself and

¹⁶ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Brig By Chance*, Capt. Nehemiah West, port of Dartmouth, 1825-1826.

¹⁷ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Ship Grand Turk*, Capt. David H. Bartlett, 1834, *Voyage to South Atlantic*.

¹⁸ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Remarks on Board Bark Merlin*, Capt. Albert A. Thomas, 1872-1876, to New Zealand and the Pacific.

¹⁹ Mystic, Marine Museum, MS. *Schooner Era*, of New Bedford, George Comer, master, 1904.

a few others were standing at the vice bench cleaning our whales teeth . . . Employed splitting bone and scraping the gum off the ends of it.

Various activities aboard naturally prevailed at all times, in the absence of scrimshawing. For instance, at the rather early date of 1809, Captain Lemuel Porter of the ship *Hamilton*, from Boston, who spent a considerable time trading with the Indians on the North Pacific Coast, noted in his log book: 'March 29: people employed spinning Spunyard . . . April 4: all hands employed in making of Sinnett.'²⁰

As late as 1881, the log book of the bark *Palmette*, of New Bedford, reported: 'Nothing in sight and no sign of even being any sperm whales here. The old man and the mate devote their time a schrimshorning. That is all they think of.'²¹

It goes without saying that the whalers gladly took their leave, throwing scrimshaw aside for the time being, as soon as they spied a chance to go 'gamming' or to step ashore. This is candidly admitted by Captain William H. Raynard, of the ship *Abigail* from New Bedford (1835-1838), when he cast anchor off Cocos isle in the Pacific: 'Shall see the hand in the night, shall see the pretty girls tomorrow, which is good news. . . . The girls have all come back, which makes me glad. A site [sight] of the girls, if nothing more!'

How vast and diversified must have been the whole panorama of the whalers' life and pursuits, including scrimshawing! For those sea-wolves during a little less than a century, drifted in large numbers—about 20,000 at one time—over three wide oceans, looking for whales and other booty, and many of them, at an early date, found their way into remote expanses, even as far north as Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean.

As early as 1811, Captain Malbone on the ship *Alexander Mansfield*,²² from New York, counted, now 10 sails of vessels astern, then 10 to 12 sails of American vessels, at North Cape and near Archangel. On a summer day, he saw 20 American sails and 10 foreign; another time, 25 sails bound in. It had taken *Mansfield* only 52 days to cover the huge distance from Providence in New England to Archangel; and *Abigail* from Boston had also made it in 52 days, while another whaler had arrived at its sub-Arctic destination in 60 days.

This type of sea-hunting was called, by *Abigail* (1835-1838), 'sealing and ottering,' hunting 'right whales,' 'whaling and elephanting,' and 'elephanting'—this last word meaning the pursuit of elephant seals.

²⁰ Salem, Peabody Museum, MS. *Ship Hamilton, Capt. Lemuel Porter, 1809, Northwest Coast and Canton.*

²¹ Mentioned, without particulars, by Arthur C. Watson, in *The Long Harpoon.*

²² MS. *Ship Alexander Mansfield, Malbone, master, 1811, N. Y. to Archangel.*

The commerce of Tahiti, in the mid-Pacific, consisted in the 'exportation of pearl-shell and pearls,' as Captain Bennett reported in 1833.²³ And he went on to say that 'numerous English and American whaleships called' at the island, at Hawaii, and visited the Northwest Coast of America.

Once in the Pacific, those ships travelled back and forth on the Japanese current northeastward and the trade winds in the opposite direction. They crossed the Japan Sea, headed towards the North Pacific Coast, entered Bering Sea, and from there proceeded to the South Seas. The crews mingled with the natives of several races at every port, and, among the whalers, not a few were Kanakas, or Polynesians, and Indians. Herbert Aldridge, as late as 1886, observed that:

Formerly many trading vessels infested the whole of the Alaskan coast. When the whales enter the Arctic, they follow up the American shore into the northwest as fast as the ice breaks up. 32 vessels were in the fleet this year, 14 of them owned in New Bedford, the other 18 in San Francisco. The custom among many of the vessels that ship Eskimo natives was to save the fluke of one whale for each. This provided enough food to last into the winter. The *Orca* had three natives aboard, and these Eskimos depended upon the whalers for this existence, to the point of saying of themselves, 'I believe no whale ship; Masinka men all die.' So many Kanaka sailors [Polynesians] have been north that several of their words have been adopted for use in trading.²⁴

Nearly fifty years earlier, in 1848, the ship *Tiger* was bound for Bering Strait. We find the entry on its log book, about 29 June 1848:

The Indians, in several canoes, said 'Good morning!' with the word 'English.' We answered, 'America.' They brought presents of their garments and walrus teeth for scrimshawing, for which we paid them with tobacco. They are all smokers. In Bering Strait close to land, we saw the Diomedes, also Asia and America. Both continents could be seen at a look. 4 ships [were] coming in at the passage. The natives came to trade.²⁵

The ship *Majestic*, in the same year (1848), reported:

In the Arctic sea, 1849. Within about forty miles of the Arctic coast we are surrounded with ships and a great number of whales. Beautiful weather. On the island of Kodiak [east of the Aleutians], we chopped wood.²⁶

The following year (1849), *Henery Kneeland*, of New Bedford, began

²³ Frederick Debell Bennett, *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe, from the year 1833 to 1836* (1840), 2 vols.

²⁴ *Eight months in Arctic Alaska and Siberia with the Arctic Whalers* (1886), reprinted, 1937.

²⁵ Mystic, Marine Museum, *MS. Journal, Tiger, Mrs. Brewster*, previously cited.

²⁶ Salem, Peabody Museum, *MS. Ship Majestic, Journal of a whaling voyage to the Pacific Ocean, 1848*.

cruising for whales in the South Pacific.²⁷ She went by the Sandwich Islands, and sailed towards the Arctic Sea, in 1850. On the way she came upon the wreckage of a Japanese junk, with thirteen starving Japanese; they were taken to the Siberian port of Petropavloski. (A number of ships were seen in the Arctic.)

Master Hall, the mate who kept the *Journal* on the whaler *Natchez*, from New Bedford, while in Bering Sea, observed the Diomed Islands and both the coasts of America and Asia; and he mentioned 'a number of ships to the northwards of us.'²⁸ During the few following years, Captain Palmer of the ship *Washington*, from New Bedford (1850-1853), scoured the sea for whales in the regions of Japan, Bering Sea, and Hawaii. While in Bering Sea he sighted St. Lawrence Island, Kings Island, and East Cape. One day, he beheld 13 ships at Cape Kronatsky; another, 22 ships, close to the Diomedes.

Captain McKenzie, on *Eagle*, who had sailed from Honolulu, indicates the time when, about 1867, the first whaler—and he was followed by many others, during the next fifty years—found its way beyond Bering Strait into the Arctic Sea past Point Barrow, as far as the mouth of the Mackenzie River. He recorded in his log book:

Counted 21 ships in the forenoon and have seen many more since, close to Bering Strait. The water is 'full of whale feed,' in and around Bering Sea, the Aleutian Islands, and Queen Charlotte Island, on the North Pacific Coast. [After reaching the mouth of the Mackenzie, he puts down:] Much farther than ever a whaling ship ventured before.²⁹

III

Numerous objects scrimshawed out of ivory, bone and wood, varied according to a whaler's whims and materials. They ranged between miniatures and small pieces of equipment or furniture. An extreme for its size is the Wedding Cake House at Kennebunk Landing, Maine, where the whole front of an old building and its dependencies, including the fence and two gates, were scrimshawed by its owner. This work is supposed to have been done, while the carver was at sea, on detached pieces of wood to be set into place when finished.³⁰ To the various articles already mentioned may be added many more, such as are found in a show

²⁷ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Remarks on Board Ship Henry Kneeland*, G. N. Clark, master, Log Book, 1849, in the North Pacific Ocean.

²⁸ MS. *Journal of a Whaling Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, 1851-1855, Ship Natchez of New Bedford*, Hall, master.

²⁹ New Bedford, Whaling Museum, MS. *Cruise of the Eagle in the Arctic*, Capt. Jas. H. McKenzie, 1867.

³⁰ This presumption, which is current, has been disputed.

case at the Marine Museum at Mystic, Connecticut, as follows: the *Ohio* model (barque *Ohio*, 1875-1877), jaggig wheel, butter knife, ivory umbrella handle, fan, shawl pins, pair of small clasps—nitrated bone, tin type, stamp, etc.³¹

A comprehensive list was furnished by Ashley, in his chapter on scrimshaw, as follows:

The objects carved are legion: bird-cages and baskets, work-boxes and ditty-boxes, checkerboards and dominoes, chessmen and jackstraws, swifts and reels, busks and stayes, bodkins and knitting-needles, tool-handles and rolling pins, clothes-pins and dish-mop rings and bracelets, salt-shakers and napkin rings, canes and whips, jig-blocks and belaying pins, coat-racks and embroidery-frames, writing desks and boxes, cribbage-boards and work-tables, bracelets and frames, butter-spreaders, cuff-links, scarf-ornaments, fids, scribes, seam-rubbers, spool-racks, needle-cases, card-trays, sleds, baby-wagons, foot-scrapers, door-stops, hooks, knocks, and hinges. Few ship models were built.

Other familiar articles are: blocks, pipes, toys, wedges used for calking the shops, dippers with coconut bowl, spool racks, parrot cages, candlesticks, and yardsticks.³²

Of all such carvings the most typical are the polished and engraved whales' teeth, the decorated walrus tusks, the jaggig wheels, the busks, the cane and umbrella handles, the boxes studded with bone or shell inlay, and the very elaborate swifts and bird cages. Not all were fashioned out of ivory or teeth; some were of wood, bamboo, and coconut.

On a collapsible swift or yarn reel with a revolving frame on an up-right stem for winding yarn, is attached the label:

Once this was the bone and teeth of a whale. Capt. Jireh Sherman, of the whaler *Gideon Howland*, made it on a voyage that lasted from 1835 to 1838. It contains 656 pieces of hammered silver, and is considered the finest example of 'scrimshaw' known.³³

The busks, because of their refinement and numbers, also of their nostalgic sentimentality, occupy a favorite place. And a good historical outline of the busk through the millennia was given by Maurice Alaret, in the London *Connoisseur*:

These sartorial accessories were used to stiffen the girdles of both men and women half a millennium prior to the Christian era. In sixteenth and seventeenth-cen-

³¹ The author has taken photographs of hundreds of scrimshaw specimens in the museums of Salem, New Bedford, Mystic, the Peabody Museums at Harvard and Yale, the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, the U. S. National Museum, at Washington, the National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, the Art Museum of Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, the private collection of Mr. and Mrs. Carl Tysen, at Northeast Harbor, the museum of the Cranbrooke Institute, at Bloomfield Hills, and the Detroit Institute of Arts.

³² Clifford W. Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler* (New York, 1942), pp. 111-116.

³³ Quoted in an illustrated article by Stephen J. Manookian, in *The Boston Herald*, 12 June 1938.

tury France, women wore richly ornamented busks of ivory, whale bone, wood, and iron, which were an invisible part of the costume . . . Then a busk was an appropriate gift from a man to his sweetheart . . . The poet Le Duchat wrote in 1563:³⁴

Laissez ces vilaines basquines
Qui vous font laides comme des quines.
Vêtez-vous comme preudes femmes
Sans plus porter ces buscs infames.

In spite of this censure of the busk in late mediæval France, the fashion kept on spreading from country to country, even overseas, until it had firmly sheathed itself as a bodice stay into the corsets of the ladies of New England and neighboring parts of the New World.

A hundred and fifty years later, the busk reappeared in French verse, this time in a famous poem of Charles Baudelaire, 'Les Métamorphoses du Vampire' (*Les Fleurs du Mal*, VII):

La femme cependant, de sa bouche de fraise,
En se tordant ainsi qu'un serpent sur la braise,
Et pétrissant ses seins sur le fer de son busc,
Laissait couler ces mots tout imprégnés de musc:
—Moi, j'ai la lèvre humide, et je sais la science
De perdre au fond d'un lit l'antique conscience . . .

As defined by Manookian in the London *Connoisseur*, the busk is 'the frontal stay in the old-fashioned corset. It represents the most intimate and sentimental of all scrimshaw work. 10 or 12 inches long, 1½ inch wide, flat and resilient, it was usually made from the pan bone (part of the lower-jaw) of the whale.' Not a few of the many busks conserved in the marine museums of New England were made of wood and of whale-bone. Meant as they were to allow the Puritan belles to 'keep a straight front,'³⁵ they were further described by Ashley as follows:

The busk is a flat fence-paling-like stay. In the 18th and 19th centuries, it was thrust into an open slit at the front of the corset. Any woman so fortified was bound to remain true to her sailor. Frequently it gave rize to tender verse inscribed somewhere on the polished surface, since it was designed to be worn by his loved one next to her very heart.³⁶

One of the verses quoted by Arthur C. Watson is:

This bone once in a sperm whale's jaw did rest;
Now 'tis intended for a woman's breast.
This, my love, I do intend
For you to wear and not to lend.³⁷

³⁴ April 1924. Quoted from the same article by Manookian, in an editorial note.

³⁵ Ethel Bigelow, 'Scrimshaw Work of the Early Days,' *The House Beautiful* (August 1920).

³⁶ *The Yankee Whaler*, op. cit.

³⁷ *The Long Harpoon, a collection of whaling anecdotes* (1929).

Another is from Ashley's *The Yankee Whaler*:

Accept, dear girl, this busk from me
Carved by my humble hand.
I took it from a Sperm Whale's Jaw,
One thousand miles from land!
... must now support thy breast.³⁸

The engravings and designs on the busks are among the most original in the repertory of folk art. Often colored with inks rubbed in, they consist of naïve and charming flowers and flower pots, birds, hearts and double-hearts overlapping, faces presumably familiar, scenes reminding one of home, and border designs resembling those of samplers, lace, and embroidery.

The commonest of all scrimshaw was the jaggging wheel, usually carved out of walrus ivory or a whale's tooth.³⁹ Also called 'pie crimps or trimmers,' 'pie-crust crimpers,' or 'jaz wheels,' they were meant for crimping the edges of pies, at the hands of a wife or a sweetheart. And the hours spent on them served as 'an outlet for the lovesickness and loneliness of many a seaman.'⁴⁰ A jaggging wheel was a small implement, beautifully carved and polished, composed of a wheel, a handle, and sometimes other parts. Ashley, in his *Yankee Whaler*, calls it 'the chef-d'oeuvre' of scrimshaw. 'It was the gift for a wife.' Hyatt Verrill expands upon it:

More numerous than all other articles made by the whalers were the odd 'jaggging wheels' for crimping the edges of pastry, pies, etc. No one seems to know just why the whalemén were so fond of making them . . . The carved pastry wheels were produced in vast numbers by the whalemén and were most beautifully wrought. The best collection [but by far not the only important one] of those in existence is that of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society of New Bedford, and whole cases are filled with this handiwork of the whalemén . . . Many of the wheels were highly ornamented with mother-of-pearl, whalebone or brass wire inlaid in ivory . . . Nearly everyone has a fork at one end for piercing the crust pie or the cake.⁴¹

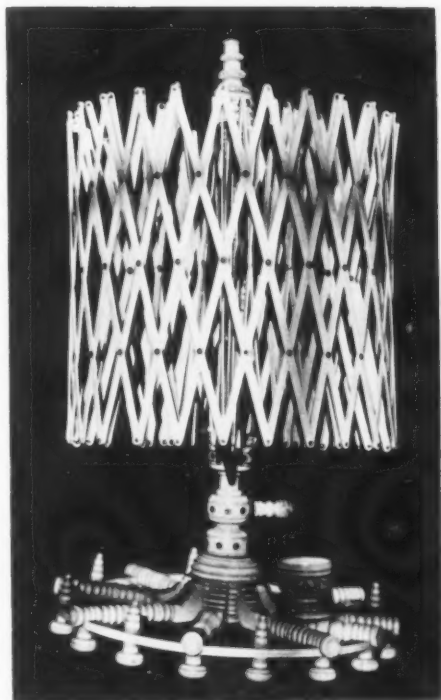
Wives, sweethearts, and mothers, when a beloved one returned from the sea, always expected a jaggging wheel. In their affectionate regard for the women at home, the sailors bestowed upon these domestic accessories all the resources of their affection and fancy. The 'pie crimps' with a rosette-like zigzag wheel, are models of geometrical design. Their handles served as a pretext for embellishment in the form of thunderbirds

³⁸ Given as having been found on a busk in W. W. Bennett's collection.

³⁹ Wellington Hoze, 'Jaggging Wheels,' *The Magazine Antiques* (June 1922).

⁴⁰ Arthur C. Watson, 'Scrimshaw,' *The Technology Review* (March 1938).

⁴¹ A. Hyatt Verrill, *The Real Story of the Whaler, Whaling Past and Present* (1916), chapter viii. 'Leisure hours,' songs, scrimshaw.



Swift for winding skeins of wool, made of whalebone. In the Whaling Museum, New Bedford

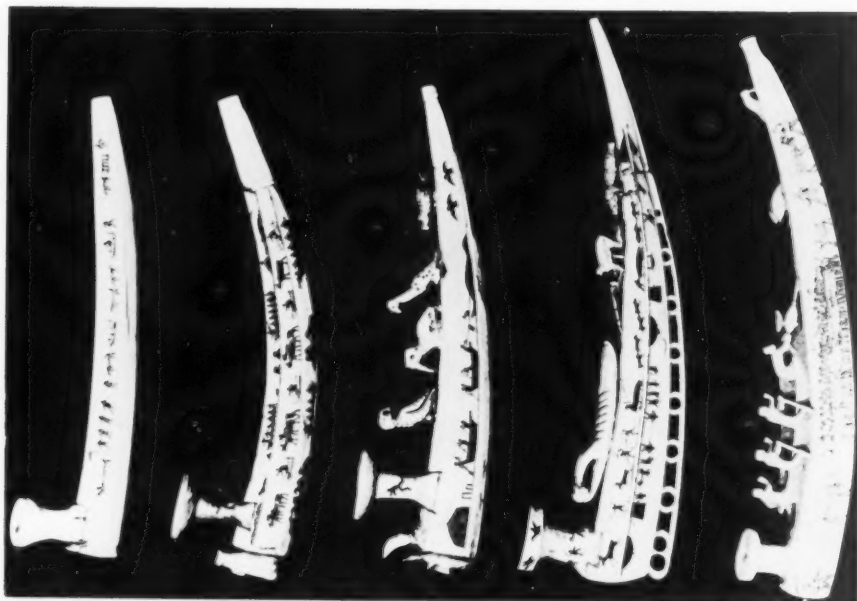


Two walrus tusks carved by a Nunivak Island Eskimo of Bering Sea. Walter C. Waters' private collection, Wrangel, Alaska



Jagging wheels for cutting piecrust. Whaling Museum, New Bedford

Photographs by Marius Barbeau. Courtesy of the National Museum of Canada



Ivory pipes with carvings and engravings by Bering Sea Eskimos. Walter C. Waters' collection, Wrangel, Alaska

Courtesy of the National Museum of Canada



William Perry, the last surviving scrimshander, New Bedford, Massachusetts

Courtesy of the National Museum of Canada

or eagles, sea-horses and hippogryphs, dolphins or sirens, snakes or dragons winding their tails round the stem, cranes or swans, fiddle-heads, and familiar scrolls. In these we find a wealth of pattern, away from fixed standards, which is not approached in commercial departments. American art here, unknown though it remains to most outsiders, often touches one of its peaks.

No less resourceful were the scrimshanders whose contribution was ivory handles of canes, parasols, umbrellas, and yardsticks; these were welcome as gifts. A captain or a mate would bestow his latest work upon a fellow officer with whom he was 'gamming' far away from home waters. And a boatsteerer on the ship *Clifford Wayne*, of Fairhaven, wrote in his diary, in 1844: 'Nothing do we do but make canes to support our dignity with, when we are home.'⁴²

The cane of Jethro Coffin was described as follows by Joseph Hart ('Miriam Coffin,' 1834):

It was wrought into diamonds and ridges, and squares and oblongs, like the war-clubs of the South-Sea islanders, and surmounted by the head of a grinning sea-lion, with a straight black pin of polished whalebone driven through the ears.⁴³

The plastic themes in use in cane handles often resembled those of jaggig wheels except one feature which, because of its suggestiveness, was the preference of men only. That is, an alluring leg bent at the knee for a kick, and set off in frippery. Some canes were carved the whole length, with a closed fist at the top holding a snake which winds itself round and round the whole length of the staff. Occasionally the refinement runs into grooves and hollowed-out cavities; within these, tiny balls or arrows jiggle, and outside, chain links rattle at every move. Other canes were 'made from plates of black whalebone heated and twisted.'⁴⁴

The boxes and baskets often were ingeniously ornamented with floral designs, geometric patterns or pastoral scenes, on the sides, which were bent in an oval and surmounted by a rounded top. Elsewhere, inlays of pearl, ivory or bone, produced an Oriental effect, in a manner not unknown in the South Seas.

The most prolific of all media was the whale's teeth and the walrus tusks; these have more or less monopolized, in the estimation of some commentators, the word scrimshaw. The smooth, polished surface of bone and ivory yielded itself to engraving and incrustation by the most

⁴² MS, *The Ship Clifford Wayne of Fairhaven*. Mentioned, without further particulars by Arthur C. Watson in *The Long Harpoon*.

⁴³ *The Yankee Whaler*, op. cit.

⁴⁴ William M. Davis, *Nimrod of the Sea* (1874). Quoted from Manookian, op. cit.

skillful members of the crew. And design was suited to surface and materials. Carved in the round and engraved, the teeth assumed pyramidal shapes, and the walrus tusks became mongolian pipes, cribbage boards with scenes of wild life in an all over plastic decoration. Hundreds of them are preserved in whaling and other museums, and thousands must still lie or stand on mantel shelves in private collections all over America.⁴⁵

Half of the pictures engraved on sperm whale teeth, so Watson estimates in his *Long Harpoon*, 'are sentimental in kind. The other half is of whaling scenes and ships. Occasionally a bit of poetry is found on a scrimshawed article.' The same author elsewhere speaks of 'many stock types in the repertoire of the teeth engravers: Godey ladies, Lincolns and Napoleons, little dramas like the Sailor's Return, willow trees overhanging tombstones, and family portraiture. But mostly ships and whaling.'⁴⁶

On one of the earliest pieces fashioned 'Off the coast of Japan,' we read on the reverse:

Death to the living, Long live the killers,
Success to Sailors' Wives, and Greasy Luck to Whalers.⁴⁷

A whale's tooth somewhere else displays, on one side, the picture of a stylish lady in hoop skirts and with a bland smile, and, on the reverse, a South Sea girl in sarong awaiting her sailor at the foot of a palm tree. And pointedly engraved is the caption:

To our Wives and Sweethearts.
May they never meet.

The sea-bound artists, as Watson points out, 'had known the actual whale which had furnished the material.' Hence their originality and deep feeling in the interpretation of their favorite subjects—ships, whaling scenes, churches, cottages, or fair Polynesians welcoming hungry sailors for a day on their Elysean shores. The quality and authenticity of their work varied widely, and, as Verrill puts it:

By the laborious and crude method in use, results equalling the finest steel engravings were often produced, although the majority of scrimshawed teeth showed little artistic talent on the part of the men. Many of the designs were original, such as ships under full sail, incidents of the chase and the capture of whales, and other maritime scenes. But the best and most elaborate were traced and transferred from

⁴⁵ Manookian refers to a cut in *The Boston Globe* (13 October 1918), and to the Fearing Whaling Collection bequeathed to the Marine Museum at the Old State House, Boston: 62 polished whale's teeth.

⁴⁶ 'Scrimshaw,' *The Technology Review* (March 1938).

⁴⁷ Captain Frederick Swan, *The Susan of Nantucket* (1829).

the books, magazines and illustrated papers which found their way to the fore-castles of the whaling ships [these documents themselves may not have been preserved in their original form]. The more ambitious and skillful members of the crew carved articles from the teeth, and cribbage-boards from walrus tusks, and beautifully inlaid boxes of whalebone or ivory . . . Many objects manufactured by the whalers from materials at hand were as delicately carved, as intricate in design as well finished, as any work of the Orient.⁴⁸

Ashley also appreciates the quality in scrimshawing:

If one showed better talent than the rest, his designs might influence the output of a whole ship . . . His wish to present a distant friend with a trophy of the whale hunt produced sturdy originality . . . To-day, when we look at these things he created, we wonder to find that so much feeling actually was there, as that so much could be so deeply hidden.⁴⁹

Herman Melville, in *Moby Dick* (1850), has sorted out the pictorial materials of scrimshaw into three groups, according to subject: (1) ship and whaling scenes, (2) patriotic and naval subjects, and (3) sentimental themes, the last being large and varied. . . . 'Some are original, others have been copied. Corné's engravings, in Able Bowen's *Naval Monument* and *Naval Temple* furnished the inspiration for some, while Godey's and other "home companions" probably furnished most of the sweet sentimental pictures . . . Scrimshaw teeth were often made in pairs. Levelled off at the base, they stood upright on the mantelshelf.'⁵⁰

A sample of an unfinished engraving is still preserved at the Whaling Museum in New Bedford, showing the dotted tracing with a steel point through a semi-transparent, oiled print stuck to the ivory surface.

In *Moby Dick*, Melville has left a page which is worth quoting in full. He knew scrimshaw from personal observation, for he had sailed on a whaler in 1841, in the heyday of the art:

Throughout the Pacific, and also in Nantucket, New Bedford, and Sag Harbor, you will come across lively sketches of whales and whaling scenes graven by fishermen themselves on spermwhale teeth, or ladies' 'busks' wrought out of right whalebone, or other like skrimshander articles, as the whalers call the numerous little ingenious contrivances they elaborately carve out of the rough material in their hours of ocean leisure. Some of them have little boxes of dentistical-looking implements, especially intended for the skrimshandering business. But in general

⁴⁸ Verrill, op. cit.

⁴⁹ *The Yankee Whaler*, op. cit.

⁵⁰ Edward L. Daland, 'Engraved Types of Scrimshaw,' *The Magazine Antiques* (October 1935), pp. 153-155. The author's illustrations are drawn from his own private collection. Twelve teeth and one busk are here represented. Edward L. Daland was Dr. Edward Baland Lovejoy who, after his retirement from medical practice, was Honorary Curator of Chinese Ethnology at The Peabody Museum of Salem. His collection was sold piecemeal.

they toil with the jack-knives alone; and with that almost omnipotent tool of the sailor, they will turn you out anything you please in the way of a mariner's fancy.

The praise of the whaleman as a 'skrimshander' artist by Melville is none too great, for the sailor loved his handicraft and brought it up to a high peak of perfection. It became an indispensable part of his life.

No less enthusiastic do we find Ashley who wrote, in his *Yankee Whaler*:

'The whaleman has left behind him one enduring monument . . . , the only important indigenous folk art, except that of the Indians—the art of scrimshaw.' And he went on to say: 'Its practice was so widespread among the ships that it may be said to have been universal. There never has been another art so universal. In their spare time for a matter of seven or more decades, the better part of 20,000 whalemen, year in and year out, spent the most of their leisure hours trying to fashion something beautiful. In their isolation, they developed their designs along original lines, and the result was unique.'

The universality of the craft, as pointed out by Ashley, is further emphasized by Watson:

As a result of the whaleman's spare time, the art of scrimshaw came into being, an art which was peculiar to Maritime America . . . It was born and developed on board whaleships. As early as 1826, it must have been practised considerably, for in the log-book of the brig *Chance* of Dartmouth, there is the following entry under the date of May 20 of that year: 'All these twenty-four hours small breezes and thick foggy weather. So ends the Day. All hands employed Scrimshanting.'⁵¹

The desirability of 'cultivating hobbies of a social nature,' is insisted on elsewhere by Watson, who said: 'A group created scrimshaw, and a group, through emulation, perfected it. No school, no text book. Only some natural leaders.'

Scrimshaw, it should be added, as Manookian did to its praise, 'never became commercialized.' Yet a choice piece occasionally changed hands for a consideration, as it did on board *Globe*, close to St. Helena, in 1871, when John S. Coquin wrote: 'Sold a cane to the mate of an English brig.'⁵²

Above all, the value of scrimshaw consists in the thousands of experiences it has recorded, the observations at first hand and the historical and geographical materials it embodies, and the immense body of human strivings which it represents, from amongst a white folk under duress, and of their encounters with American Indians or South Sea islanders. Those plastic archives of nearly a century of life at sea and of aboriginal

⁵¹ Watson, *The Long Harpoon*, p. 158.

⁵² MS. *Journal of a voyage in the Atlantic Ocean*, cited above.

approaches on several continents and islands, constitute a precious body of folklore, art, and cultural materials perhaps nowhere else duplicated.

IV

The origin of scrimshaw remains in doubt, although a few writers have tried to elucidate it. Its sources long antedate its full crystallization and the use of its intriguing name. The first observer to discuss them was J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, who wrote, in connection with the inhabitants of Nantucket, as early as 1782:

I must confess that I have never seen more ingenuity in the use of the knife . . . In the many hours of leisure which their long cruises afford them, they cut and carve a variety of boxes and pretty things, in wood, adapted to different uses, which they bring home as testimonies of remembrances to their wives and sweethearts. They showed me a variety of little bowls and other implements, executed cooper-wise, with the greatest neatness and elegance.⁵³

The earliest reference to the art, according to Ashley, is found in the log book of the brig *By Chance*, of Dartmouth, 20 May 1826: 'All hands Scrimshonting.'⁵⁴ And Watson, in *The Long Harpoon*, goes on to wonder:

How long before 1826 whalers made their ivory and bone trinkets one cannot say. But Mr. Frank Wood, who dates the birth of scrimshaw at the time the whalers first entered the Pacific, says: 'In 1795, the ship *Beaver*, with Captain Paul Worth, of Nantucket, was the first American Whaler to go into the Pacific. She was followed in the same year by the ship *Rebecca* of New Bedford. At about that date, when whaleships began to make long voyages, of three and four years duration, scrimshawing probably came into existence. The whalers must have learned something, or at least have received inspiration, from the meticulous handiwork done by the natives of the South-Sea Islands . . . How much scrimshaw owes to the art of Polynesia . . . ? All existing scrimshaw belongs to the Post-Polynesian years. The word itself is perhaps of South-Sea origin.

The idea of some writers, that scrimshaw owed its first incentive to 'the inspiration in the walrus tusk carvings of the Eskimo,' because their art 'is very crude,' was refuted by Ashley, who aptly thought that

The source of the Yankee whaler was to be found either in the home surroundings he had left or in his life at sea . . . At first, wood was probably used more than ivory . . . It would have taken the whaler a little time to discover the possibilities of his chosen material.

Another connection with Eskimo art was pointed out by John A. Cook, in his book *Pursuing the Whale, a Quarter-Century of Whaling in the Arc-*

⁵³ Quoted by Manookian in his *Boston Herald* article (see above), and by Ashley, *The Yankee Whaler*, p. 196.

⁵⁴ *The Yankee Whaler*, op. cit.

tic,⁵⁵ when he discussed the whalers' trade with the natives of Bering Strait and Unalaska:

Numerous articles of trade, such as toys made out of ivory, are to be found there. The natives are very ingenious in tattooing ivory, and many cribbage-boards are carved from the tusks of walrus.

There is no telling whether the Eskimos or Bering Sea and Siberia had developed this craft independently or simply borrowed it from the whalers, in their long and intimate association with them on shore or on board ship. Yet it should not be forgotten that the Aleutians themselves used this type of carving long before. For we read, in Bering's log book, an entry dated 6 September 1741:

7 baidarkas, one native American in each. They were given an iron kettle and needles, for which they exchanged two wooden hats with visors. On one of these was fastened a small ivory figure representing a man.

The word scrimshaw itself has not yet furnished a clue as to its origin. Yet it has been scrutinized by Cheever, Melville, Ashley, and Watson. Manookian⁵⁶ has stated that Cheever⁵⁷ 'was probably the first to use the word scrimshaw in print in 1850. He speaks of the process as muxing and scrimshander.' Melville, in *Moby Dick*, of the same year, writes it 'skrimshander.' And Charles Nordoff,⁵⁸ in 1856, briefly mentioned 'scrimshaw.' Ashley was of the opinion that the 'origin of the word is debatable,' and recalled that G. B. Goode claims 'to have traced it to Nantucket, and believes it to be of Indian origin. But it is only a surmise.'⁵⁹ And the conclusion was that scrimshaw 'is the most recent of several forms of the name.'

Various expressed in several documents at dates ranging from 1837 to 1870, the following forms of the word were noted by Watson:

The word was 'scrimshonting' in the early days. In a log-book of 1837, we find 'scrimson'; in one of 1843, 'scrimshorn'; in one of 1861, 'squimshon' . . . ; in a log-book of 1881, 'schrimshorn'; in 1870, we have the modern word 'scrimshaw' spelled correctly.

Some years earlier it was used in the log book of the brig *Chance*, off the coast of Guiana: 'All hands employed scrimshonting'; in that of *Grand Turk*, in 1826: 'Homeward bound scrimshonting'; and, in 1840, on the bark *London Packet*: 'All hands employed scrimshorning.'

⁵⁵ Chapter V, pp. 43, 147, 152.

⁵⁶ *The Boston Herald*, see above.

⁵⁷ In *The Whale and His Captors* (1850).

⁵⁸ In *Whaling and Fishing*.

⁵⁹ *Fishing Industries of the United States* (Washington, 1887).

How comprehensive now is the term depends upon the writers. Watson argued that 'Some consider it only a kind of engraving. In general use, it includes far more: anything of beauty and skill made on ship-board'. Verrill would restrict it somewhat: 'Scrimshaw work was a term applied to all forms of carving or decorating whale's teeth, walrus tusks or bones. But nowadays it usually refers specifically to teeth engraved by the whalemén.'

Actually the name of scrimshaw lends itself to extension. Within it should be included not only all carvings for a pastime on American whalers, but also the derivative forms of the craft among the Indians of the North Pacific Coast, Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean. And they are most significant, for it is exactly there that scrimshaw has reached its full growth. For a century and a half, these seacoast natives have come under the overwhelming influence of fur traders and whalers who have transformed their lives, and thus they have creatively absorbed whatever cultural traits suited their gifts and proved of benefit to them, in their dealings with the white man.⁶⁰

Ashley's opinion that the source of the art issued from the home surroundings of the 'scrimshander' or from his life at sea, needs amplification. Indeed the gifts or souvenirs from his hands mostly followed familiar New England concepts and designs. They were swifts, bird cages, work boxes, needle cases, napkin rings, rolling pins, jaggings wheels, cane handles, busks, and cribbage boards. Their decorations likewise absorbed current notions, all alive and variable, some of them from printed booklets and periodicals now quite forgotten; these often were repertories of trade and current folk art. More frequently the whalers appropriated themes and designs commonly used in the varied handicrafts of the town and country of their birth: from the repertory of shipbuilders for figureheads, carved billets, stern pieces elaborated all over, scrolls, and fiddleheads; from the private catalogues of tombstone engravers containing heads, profiles, skulls, wheels, rosettes, stylized flowers, acanthus leaves, border or fret designs, and poetic quotations in verse; from a weaver's and an embroiderer's sets of patterns for coverlets and samplers; from weather vane makers, wrought iron workers, iron casters, glass cutters, in village shops; from itinerant painters adorning front doors and windows; in a word, from anywhere and anybody in sight with anything suitable to furnish for fresh interpretation and initiative.

⁶⁰ The author is now preparing several illustrated monographs on the native branch of scrimshaw on the north Pacific coast. The first of these, to be published by the Canadian Government during 1952, is entitled *Haida Carving in Argilite*, vol. I, *Myths Illustrated*.

It is as a repository of American folk themes and vital achievement, whether from the grass-roots among the white whalers or derivative yet transfigured among the Indians, that scrimshaw is capital, if not monumental. And its full story still has to be told, for, as Ashley admits it: 'Historians of whaling have given scant space to scrimshaw; they should have done better.' And the same can be said of other historians who may not know even by name the most significant contribution which their continent has to offer to original art at large!

V

The materials and technique of scrimshawing have yielded themselves to circumstances, and on the whole, have remained fairly uniform and simple. Wood, including driftwood and sandalwood from the South Seas, may have prevailed at first. Yet it was largely supplanted when the bone of the whale, whale teeth, and the walrus tusks, became abundant through whaling.

After *Beaver* and *Rebecca* had voyaged to the Pacific and captured sperm whales, in 1791, 'teeth soon became plentiful and were employed instead of wood.' And Manookian goes on to say: 'What we know as scrimshaw work was produced after that time.' Watson remarks that 'the lower jawbone of the sperm whale was nearer wood than ivory, with a grain without any particular beauty . . . Whalebone was of an ugly brown color, flexible, for ladies' stays, umbrella ribs, and whips, occasionally used as inlay.' 'Along with tooth, jawbone or the whalebone,' the same author adds, 'the artist might use some tropical wood, mother-of-pearl, tortoise shell, or coconut shell.'⁶¹ As for ivory, it was obtained from the whale's teeth and walrus tusks, and occasionally even from fossilized mammoth tusks, in northern Alaska.

The second mate, as Ashley pointed out, 'doled out ivory and bone to the men. Large pieces of ivory were rare. Some pieces were coveted. Hoarding was discouraged.'

To Watson we owe the following commentary on whales' teeth as they were used by scrimshanders:

The practice of scrimshaw became so prevalent that it was an unwritten law of the whaling world that the lower jaw of the sperm whale with its teeth should always belong to the crew to use as it pleased. The teeth, though of excellent ivory, were not commercialized . . . They were removed with the aid of cutting spades and a small tackle. Sometimes they are soft and can easily be worked when they are new; as they age, they grow harder. Files of varying degrees of firmness, and

⁶¹ *The Technology Review*, cited above.

sandpaper, had to be used for sperm teeth, which are not smooth, but ribbed . . . Also chisel-like scrapers, crude hack-saws, jack-knife.

'The omnipotent jack-knife,' as Watson calls it, 'belonged to the scrimshaw hours when white men played savages.' He goes into greater details:

The whaleman, in preparing the engraving, first used a coarse hand-made file for to scrape off the ribs; then a finer file to work it down, while the bands of the ivory colors began to appear and disappear; then, sandpaper or a piece of sharkskin, ashes from the try work, also pumice. But the final polish was from the palm of the hand.

Now the sharp, pointed, instrument—a sail needle in a bone handle; the Indian ink or the 'gunk and gurry' worked into the striations, the final palming. There were also many tricks. Often the tooth was soaked in brine, to give the ivory an orange richness. And it was dipped in water for easier tooling.⁶²

On the same subject of technique, Verrill has put the following observations on record:

Some of the men became very expert in carving and decorating the teeth and tusks. They produced marvelously delicate and beautiful handiwork with the crudest of tools, or even with a jack-knife alone . . . In decorating the teeth, the design was scratched upon the smooth, hard surface and colors, such as Indian ink, paint, or even soot from the try works, was rubbed into the incised lines.

To conclude on the technique, Ashley, referring to *Moby Dick*, informs us that:

A hacksaw would be borrowed of the cooper, and half a dozen men would stand around the work bench, giving advice while the tooth was sawed . . . The tools of scrimshaw were generally knife, files, and saw. Many ships had homemade turning lathes. Much fine turning was simulated with a file, and much of the pattern in scrimshaw that resembles scroll-sawing was also file work. Holes were drilled with gimlets made of nails. The countersinking for shell, silver, and mother-of-pearl inlay was scraped out with a knife, assisted may be with a chisel. A grindstone at time proved useful in smoothing. Finishing was done with wood ashes, and polish, with the palm of the hand.

And for the bouquet, Sallie G. Smith, in her journal 'Barque *Ohio*'⁶³ (1875) gave a recipe of how 'to silver ivory.'⁶⁴

VI

Whaling slowly tapered off to an end with the old century, and Captain George Comer, of East Haddam, Connecticut, was one of the last to

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Mystic, Marine Museum, *MS. Journal, Bark Ohio, 1875-1877*.

⁶⁴ A number of specimens of scrimshaw tools are preserved in the marine museums of Mystic, Salem, and specially New Bedford.

uphold an ancient trade. He often revisited Hudson Bay looking for whales, Eskimo dances in the winter, archaeological specimens for the museums, and the barter. *Charles Morgan*, the last veteran whaler of the high seas, is a monument to an age past, now imbedded in gravel, at the edge of the bay close to the Marine Museum at Mystic, Connecticut. And the scrimshanders have passed away, all except one.

William Perry, of New Bedford, who was fifty-five years old in 1950, can still scrimshaw for the benefit of whoever holds an interest in whaling, and cares for a souvenir in the old style.

Never a whaler himself—he was born too late for the harpoon—he once wanted, at nineteen, to follow his father's calling. His father was a whaler on *Morning Star* of New Bedford; he had married Emily, aged thirteen, a Portuguese girl of Fayal beyond the Atlantic, and William's mother. William in time grew up and had to beg his mother's consent to become a whaler like his father. She slapped him in the face, crying: 'I'll give you a whaling!'

Whaling was then in a state of coma, for old-fashioned lubricants and illumination had given way to other ways and means, and the whales had paid more than a reasonable toll to the hands of the American harpooners. The captains, the mates, and their crews had scattered and looked for themselves in a changing world. The Perrys found themselves at a loss in California for a while. Then they moved back to New Bedford for employment at the cotton mills, and New Bedford drew them like a magnet. It remains a Portuguese center, and cannot so soon forget the colorful industry which brought it into close touch with Africa, South America, the Pacific, the Arctic, the South Seas, and China.

Young Perry went to school, but his taste was for drawing; and his gifts no doubt went back to scrimshawing; they had to yield to new dictates. So he drew in colored chalks, in the school rooms, the figure of Santa Claus for Christmas, of a fat turkey for Thanksgiving, of a calendar for the year round, and for sheer pleasure, little ships—whalers. Some of these were copies, and others issued from his youthful imagination, and he was well endowed. At fourteen he took to painting with oils. He entered a competition with three hundred other boys, and won the first prize with his Indian, a thick cape on, sitting on a hot, cast iron stove from Pennsylvania!

As he grew out of school, young Perry became perplexed for he was born for the sea. Forced to accept makeshifts, he hired himself at a cut glass factory—the Mount Washington Glass Work—to bake glass in the ovens. His boss, aware of Perry's partiality for a craft, let him 'go up-

stairs,' where glass was cut into shapes and patterns. There he learned how to fashion glass trays. But the union was a 'jealous body,' too 'classy' to accept the son of a whaler, a scrimshander, into its straightlaced bosom. So, at twenty-three, he made up his mind to try his hand elsewhere.

Jimmy Carr, a local dealer in marine and whaling curios, who had an antique shop, urged him to enter the 'scrimshaw business.' This he did, for the lack of 'the real thing' on the high seas. Whale teeth were still plentiful in the old seaport; they used to be thrown overboard. So there was as yet no lack of good materials: tooth, tusk and jaw bone. He found or made his own tools, and his first engraving on a tooth was of *Charles Morgan*. The old ship had come to the end of her career in the bay close by, and his fondness for her was great, as if for a beloved relative. He often painted her, even on canvas (18" x 24"), or he engraved her crest-fallen profile on silver or aluminum medals, with frost finish. More than this, he managed to become a keeper on board her, for seven whole years, there to make friends with other sea-lovers and craftsmen of his kind: Louis Sylva and Frank Reporter.

Even this occupation was bound to come to an end. But, as he loved the ocean, the best he could do in his nostalgia was to be the second cook on the lightship *Stonehouse* in the bay. In his leisure, he indulged in scrimshawing, as his lineage of whalers had done at sea for an 'escape' from dullness.

Now in the latter part of his life, he sums up his career without enthusiasm, yet without regret, save that it is now difficult to get whales' teeth, and that his children are more interested in sports than in the sea and in handicrafts. And the sum total is that he 'has done many a whale's teeth, about one thousand in all for people all over.' Several pieces from his hands now repose in the cases of the New Bedford Marine Museum, alongside earlier and no better work.

A resourceful scrimshander like him, in the many phases of his ancient craft, must bow his head at times to distracting demands for a humble living. He has produced lots of elaborate jig saw shelves out of plywood, and fixed jewelry of all types. One of his best pieces along these lines was the carving of an eagle's head, just like that which used to decorate the sternboard of *Morning Star*, the whaler on which his own father had seen his heyday!

While I chatted with William Perry (Plate 10), taking photographs of him, near the old Marine Museum of New Bedford, and in front of the Old-Age Home of disabled sailors, this last of the scrimshanders went on engraving a whale's tooth, and pouring out reminiscences without end:

'In the scratches you rub Indian ink with the finger, rub it with spit; clean it off with a cloth, buff it, and then polish it with the palm of the hand. In the old days, they used lampblack from the whale-oil lamp, mixed with spit only. But Indian ink now is a little better, for a quicker job. This work, lots of times, was meant for sweethearts: jagger wheels, bust bones for corsets. Some of it was sold, but most was given away. It was all for fun, to pass away the time. Some wonderful work, too!'

Marius Barbeau is dean of Canadian anthropologists and folklorists, and has published innumerable articles and books. Since retiring from the National Museum of Canada, he has continued his work on the Indians of the north Pacific coast and the Iroquoians, and he is now devoting much of his time to the study of folk arts and crafts of the eastern United States and of Indian captivities.

The New England Double Enders

BY DAVID CABOT

ONE rainy afternoon in mid-November I wandered into the boat yard and was agreeably surprised to find a group of local yachtsmen sitting around the pot-bellied stove, their feet up on coils of line and nail kegs, filling the air with pipe smoke and strong talk. I sat down and applied myself to the task of sorting out the cross-threads of salty conversation. It soon became evident that the subject was sea-going craft, and one man was trying to argue that his superbly constructed light racing craft was as good as the best of them in anything short of a hurricane, provided you knew when to shorten sail, but he was generally outvoted by the others, who wanted a heavy sea boat so that they would never have to worry about carrying away 'light racing gear' in a blow. Many types were proposed and discussed: the Colin Archer boats, copied from the Norwegian ketches and cutters, the British and French pilot cutters, the Brixham trawlers, the Arab dhows, and various others, but after a while I was struck by the fact that here was a group, most of whom had hardly ever left New England, whose discussion totally excluded the multitude of types developed through years of experience for the very waters in which they spent all their time afloat. This preoccupation with foreign craft was probably due mainly to the extensive publicity that they have received, while our own, being just 'common local boats,' have been sadly neglected.

A great part of what has been written about New England boats has concerned the Gloucester schooners, the fishermen's races, driving home with water seven feet over the lee rail, topmasts snapping like popcorn, and all the rest, which parallels the clippers for sheer romance. But what of the boats in the days before the 'Golden Age'? The subject as a whole would require an immense amount of research, and a reasonable way to divide it is to draw the line between the double enders and the square sterned boats.

A double ender is any boat whose stern is pointed like the bow, the

best known example being the canoe. Before 1800 there were two distinct types of boat growing up parallel to one another on the New England Coast: the double ender and the square sterned craft. These latter, of which the dogbodies and heeltappers are examples, gradually overtook and then overshadowed the double enders as the clamor for speed became more and more overbearing. This in turn was caused by a mounting demand for fresh fish and the consequent decline in the percentage of salt fish, by the great profits that fell to those who could get the first fish to a starved market, and by the sheer stubborn pride of the Yankee skippers, who hated to be beaten even by a better boat. Thus the wholesome square sterned fisherman of an earlier day grew into the slim, heavily sparred, light capacity racing fishermen of Gloucester and Boston fame around the end of the nineteenth century.

A century earlier, however, it was a different story. There was a large number of double enders, probably well over half of the fleet, for their seaworthiness and comfort was something not to be belied. One advantage of the double ender is that when running in a following sea, the seas unless very large do not lift the stern and send the bow rooting they way they will do with a counter or transom sterned boat which has her bulk down closer to the water. Rather the seas will be split and will rush on harmlessly past. Another result of this quality of relatively small reserve buoyancy in the stern, is that when the bow is lifted by a wave, it is not impeded in its rise by any pressure of the stern on the water aft, and hence there is less danger of solid water rolling aboard over the bow.

The surface of the subject has been scratched by two books from which I draw a good part of my information,¹ but the rest has had to come from personal interviews, old copies of *Yachting* and *Rudder* magazines, rare old books and small pamphlets. The list of types (complete to my knowledge) including only boats primarily propelled by sail, is as follows: the Quoddy boats, the carry-away boats, the Hampton Whalers, the Crotch Island boats, the Isles of Shoals boats, the Chebacco boats, the pinkies, the Martha's Vineyard-Noman's Land boats, the Block Island boats, and, including Nova Scotia as the logical extension of the New England coast, the Tancook Whalers (Plate 11). I will try not to duplicate material which has already been published in books on these craft except where it is the only material available, and in this case my discussion will be kept at a minimum.

The Tancook Whalers of Nova Scotia were not what their names im-

¹ C. G. Davis, *Ships of the Past* (Salem, Mass., 1929); H. I. Chapelle, *American Sailing Craft* (New York, 1936). Since this article was set H. I. Chapelle's comprehensive book *American Small Sailing Craft* (W. W. Norton: New York, 1951), has been published.

ply at all, since they were in no way connected with whaling, but were descended from the Hampton Whaler, through the Labrador boat. The only information available on these slim, beautifully lined schooners is from an article in *Yachting* magazine.² E. A. Bell mentions that the lines have been attributed to the Viking boats which visited the Northeast Coast. This I believe to be very doubtful. The Tancook Whaler, shown by Mr. Bell, was 41 feet overall, 34 feet 3 inches on the waterline, 9 feet beam, 4 feet 3 inches draft without centerboard. The earlier boats had no centerboard. Bell states that they were developed from the 'Labrador Whaler,' a 30-foot ketch-rigged type, by the boatbuilders of Tancook Island, but Chapelle says that this was the 'Labrador boat' which was the same as the 'Hampton Whaler.' Planking was either smooth or lapstreak (which is the same as clench or clinker-built) and they were ballasted with rock. The Tancook boats were undoubtedly rather tender, because of their relatively small beam and draft in proportion to waterline length. Therefore the low schooner rig with big, club-headed topmast staysail for light airs was well suited to the hull form. As with most fast, line-lined boats, the men who sailed them must have needed a nice feel for the point when they were overpowered and sail reduction was necessary, for they could not be driven like the Gloucester schooners because of lack of bearings aft, among other things. The overlapping foresail, common on many of the double ended types, shows that the modern yachtsmen have discovered nothing new with their overlapping genoa jibs. These boats started from a length of about 30 feet overall and evolved into craft as long as 50 feet. They were designed to be able to run home quickly before a rising gale, but they probably seldom had to do any heavy weather beating to windward. Hence they could be slimmer and sharper than their sisters further to the southward. Their high stern, sweeping sheer, and long-reaching bow topped by a short bowsprit made them, in my opinion, the most beautiful of all the double enders.

In a letter of 11 February 1948 to Paule Loring of Wickford, Rhode Island, from Howard I. Chapelle of Cambridge, Maryland, marine architect and historian, which was one of a number that Mr. Loring kindly lent me, Chapelle says:

First about the Tancook Whaler—Bell's article in *Yachting*, for which I made the plan as you noted, does refer to a white whaler and I have a record of a gray one as well, but I was informed by both former owners and sons of builders that the boats were commonly black, a number were dark bottle green, and most of these had black sheer strakes. The boats had red bottoms and gray decks.

² E. A. Bell, 'The Passing of the Tancook Whaler,' *Yachting* (Feb. 1933), p. 55.

As is the case with some of the other types, the Tancook Whalers have been copied and 'improved' for use as yachts, by Ralph Wiley of Oxford, Maryland, but he has spoiled the original by making her too high-sided, giving her a tall, jib-headed rig, and omitting the centerboard. He has, however, retained the strong sheer and beautiful ends.



Fig. 1. Quoddy Boat

Going a little further westward we meet the Quoddy or Lubec carry-away boats used around Quoddy Head and Passamaquoddy Bay. I can find only three published sources on this type.³ Davis, whom Chapelle claims to be incorrect, gives meager information stating that they were

³ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16; H. I. Chapelle, 'The Lubec Carry-Away Boats,' *Yachting* (July, 1940), p. 54; G. B. Goode, *The Fisheries and Fishing Industries of the United States* (Washington, 1887), Sec. V.



Model of a Tancook Whaler by Mr. Alfred J. Brownell, showing the convenient deck arrangement



Model of an Essex pinkie by Mr. Brownell. One may be assured that few pinkies were this well kept



Glory Anna II, the only existing Block Island cowhorn, owned and built by
Paule Loring

cat-rigged, 35 feet overall, 12 feet wide, and 4½ feet deep (in the hold, I presume) and shows a picture of a model in the U. S. National Museum which has the mast 3 or 4 feet abaft the stem, well raked, with no standing rigging. The gaff was quite short though not as diminutive as those of the Block Island boats. The model has a companion slide forward leading to a small cuddy, with a large cockpit aft.

Chapelle's article is much more complete and gives valuable insight into their origin. He says that they probably were developed either from the Eastport pinkies, with a change in rig from the schooner to the sloop, and in a few cases, the cat, or from the carry-away boats of the menhaden fisheries, used to carry the fish from the seines to the factories. These carry-away boats were developed to the west of Cape Cod in conjunction with the invention of the purse-seine in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, around 1845 according to Goode.⁴ They resembled the Block Island boats very closely, according to Captain Reynolds of Wickford who observed them in his youth, but were beamier if anything and of course had a cat rig. They were also, I believe, used on Long Island Sound. These carry-aways, along with the similar mate and purse boats, used to manipulate the seine, were 'soon replaced by steamers,' according to Chapelle. Whether 'soon' was before 1864, when two companies from Rhode Island erected factories at Bristol and Blue Hill, Maine, is hard to say, but it is reasonable to suppose that the Rhode Islanders would have brought their own boats, or at least their model, with them. It is easy to see how the type could have spread eastward from here.

However, there seems to be a slight difference in model between the Maine and the Rhode Island carry-aways, which would seem to substantiate the theory of development of the Lubec boats from the pinkies. The lines given by Chapelle show two models, similar in rig and profile, but different in section. The first is sharp, with hard bilges and fairly light displacement, while the second is fuller and rounder in section, altogether a more burdensome boat. The sheer of both the boats is sweeping, but not excessive, giving them low topsides amidships to make net tending easier, and both exhibit strong rake to the stern post, and moderate drag to the keel, with a deep forefoot. Both are short-gaff sloops of moderate sail area to my eye, but Chapelle considers the rig large. The dimensions of the sharper model are 38 feet 4 inches overall, 11 feet 4 inches beam, and 6 feet draft, while the smaller, heavier boat is 34 feet 2 inches overall, 30 feet 7¼ inches on the water, 11 feet 2½ inches wide, and draws 5 feet 9 inches.

⁴ Goode, *op. cit.*, Sec. V, Vol. I, p. 368.

Goode shows several plates which substantiate Chapelle's article, but he gives a minimum amount of text.⁵ The first set of plates that I have noted show the Lubec or Quoddy boats engaged in several aspects of the herring (sardine) trade. Some, the smaller, cat-rigged boats resembling the picture of the model in Davis, are gill-netting, while others, larger boats, one a cat and the other a sloop, are being used as carry-aways.

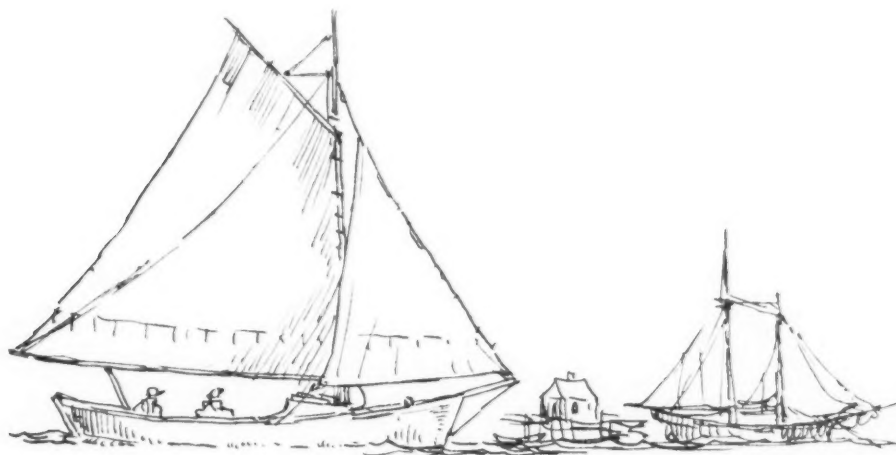


Fig. 2. Carry-Away Boat (Lubec)

The second set of plates that I have noted shows the Rhode Island carry-aways and points up a few important differences from the Lubec boats. Although their rigs are very similar, the hulls differ in several respects. First, the sheer of the Rhode Island boats, if we are to trust Goode's plates, was somewhat like a Dutch shoe with two toes, that is, it kicked up suddenly at both ends. Secondly, their stern post was nearly perpendicular, while that of the Lubec boats was strongly raked. Thirdly, the Rhode Island carry-aways seem to have resembled the Block Island boats in section, having very slack bilges, bearing little resemblance to the harder-bilged Lubec carry-aways in this respect. Finally, the Maine boats are smooth planked, while the Rhode Island boats are lapstreaked.

There is an immense amount of misunderstanding surrounding the subject of the Hampton or Hampden boat and its relatives which Chapelle has attempted to clear up in a number of letters in this magazine. At the risk of further confusing the issue I shall attempt to draw some order from the welter of information.

⁵ Goode, *op. cit.*, Sec. V, Vol. I, pp. 430, 509; Atlas, Plates 123, 132, 135; 99, 100, 101, 102, 108.

First let us consider the Hampton Beach boat, sometimes termed the Hampton Whaler. I have examined a set of lines taken from a wreck at York Beach, Maine, by Chapelle in 1936 which shows a small schooner, 24 feet 3 inches overall, 7 feet 6 inches beam, 3 feet 1½ inches draft at the stern, with gently raking stem and sternposts, and the deep forefoot and strong sheer characteristic of most of the local double enders. She has hollow waterlines fore and aft, nicely balanced ends, and a fairly full mid-



Fig. 3. Hampton Whaler

section. There is a pronounced S curve in the sections aft, which permits sharpness near the water while allowing enough bulk higher up so that she will lift to a following sea. Her schooner rig as shown by Chapelle is low with a single jib set on a short bowsprit. There is a note on the plan that the sail plan seems too large for the hull. I believe she is lapstreaked, although there is no indication.

These were the boats which, according to Goode, were taken on deck by the vessels of the Labrador fleet before the dory came into use.⁶ He gives the same approximate overall length, placing their waterline at 19 feet, and says they were clinker built and carried two sails, either leg-of-mutton or sprit. This does not agree with Chapelle's schooner rig, but it

⁶ Goode, *op. cit.*, Sec. V, Vol. I, pp. 137-138.

is my belief that his boat was kept in the water and had no need for a demountable rig.

Paule Loring says he believes that the Hampton Whalers were actually used for whaling in what was known as the 'shore fishery.' This is quite possible, since the waters north of Cape Ann are much frequented by whales. Also Chapelle's lines show oarlocks on the gunwales, which would be used when pursuing the whale in a calm.

Not to be confused with the Hampton Whaler is the Hampden or Hampton boat. These boats were square sterned, very sharp forward, with the midsection well aft, and were descended from the ship's yawl boat, according to Chapelle.⁷

The New England or pinky boat was, as nearly as I can discover, just the Hampton Whaler with a few modifications. They had more drag to the keel and were a bit longer. From these, Chapelle claims, came the Crotch Island pinky of Casco Bay, which has been claimed elsewhere to be just a sharp sterned version of the Hampton boat. At any rate they were sharp sterned with a strongly raking sternpost, vertical stem, slightly curved, strong sheer with a 'kicked-up' stern like the true pinky, and had hollow floors in the midsection. The rig was always that of a sprit-sail cat ketch, with a jib on a temporary bowsprit for light airs. This then is the totality of the relatives and descendants of the Hampton Whaler except for the Isles of Shoals boat, which I shall discuss soon. The Hampton Whaler was perhaps one of the most widely used of all the New England double enders, but they failed to gain the recognition accorded the pinkies, largely because they lacked any sharply distinguishing feature like the pink-stern.

The Isles of Shoals are a cluster of small islands situated about sixteen miles north of Cape Ann, Massachusetts. They are surrounded by comparatively shoal water, and make an ideal base for fishing.⁸ Inhabited by fishermen for two centuries after being sighted in 1605 by Champlain and explored by Smith in 1614, they declined in importance after the Revolution, and I believe that it was during this later period that the Isles of Shoals boat was developed. In the earlier period it was one of the largest settlements in New England, although women were prohibited for some time because with their arrival the annual production of fish became sadly depleted. There is no record of any particular type of boat

⁷ Chapelle, *AMERICAN NEPTUNE* (July 1941), p. 311. Other references: *AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, Vol. I, 66, 90, 173; Vol. II, 249-250; Vol. III, 141-147.

⁸ E. V. Bigelow, *Brief History of the Isles of Shoals* (Congregational Summer Conference, Star Island, 1923), p. 62.

developed there at that time, the boats apparently coming from other places. At any rate it is known that in the latter half of the nineteenth century there was a fleet of small boats native to the islands (although probably built on the mainland) which would go out handlining in the



Fig. 4. Isles of Shoals Shay

shoal waters around the islands. An old picture in the possession of L. Francis Herreshoff of Marblehead, Massachusetts, shows this fleet fishing near the islands and forms part of the pictorial basis for my discussion of this type. There were a good number of these boats, as there are over a dozen in the picture, with others intruding on the edges, so it may

be assumed that the entire fleet is not included. From the picture it is evident that they ranged from about eighteen to twenty-four feet overall, were clinker built, had a nearly plumb stem, a raking sternpost, with the bow somewhat higher than the stern. The sheer was straighter than was common in the other double enders. They resembled some of the Quoddy Boats in their cat rig with the mast set well aft, but they had a headstay and the sail was smaller and higher in proportion, the end of the boom being well inboard.

There is another source of information on these boats, besides the histories which are very informative on the early fisheries but contribute little after the Revolution. This book, by the one-time owner of the hotel on Appledore Island, while it is maddeningly inexact, does give us a few revealing hints.⁹ To begin with, there is a picture showing two boats in a calm, one of these being apparently one of the boats we are seeking although it is rather hard to tell because of the small scale. Further on we discover a reference to a 'sailboat' eighteen feet long, 'very wide and seaworthy' which was hauled out on a 'slip' by means of a windlass. More important, she had a single mast which could be unstepped. Later, however, he mentions that two 'whaleboats' were bought by his father, and that the type was used by the men of Star Island for fishing. They were apparently rigged as cat schooners, that is, with no jib. We may safely assume that these boats were not the whaleboats carried by the whaling ships, as these would have been unsuited for such a service, but rather boats of the 'whaler' type, the origin of whose name I have already explained. It is reasonable to expect that these boats were either Hampton Whalers or closely related to them, since the picture shows a close similarity between the two hull forms, perhaps the greatest difference being in the rake of the sternpost.

The third source on this type is a book by Morris.¹⁰ He has a photograph which shows a lapstreaked cat schooner about twenty-seven to thirty feet long. The hull closely resembles those of the Herreshoff photograph, but we get a better view, which shows sharp, hollow ends swelling quickly to a fairly full midsection. Her beam is the same over a good portion of her length. Her masts are evidently unstayed so as to facilitate unstepping when hauling, while her foresail is loose-footed. She is decked over forward for about one-third of her length and has a short after deck. I consider this to be the most authentic source on the type. I have a the-

⁹ O. Loughton, *Ninety Years at the Isles of Shoals* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1930), pp. 2, 19, 41, 56.

¹⁰ E. P. Morris, *The Fore and Aft Rig in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 127.

ory about the rig shown in the Herreshoff photograph, which may or may not be correct. Since these boats were hauled out they had no bowsprit, but were cat schooners. For fishing close to the islands a single masted rig would have been the handiest and it is likely that they simply unstepped the mainmast and hoisted the boomed mainsail on the foremast in place of the loose-footed foresail. I have already noted that the end of the boom was well inboard, which helps substantiate this theory.

There is one other source of information, which I am hesitant to trust, however.¹¹ It gives dimensions (29½ feet overall, 26 feet waterline, beam 9½ feet, draft 4 feet) of a replica of *Alice*, last of the Isles of Shoals double enders, and says that *Alice* was lapstreaked. The rest of the article contains several obvious fallacies, and I dare not draw any conclusions from the pictures and sail plan of his replica. The method of fishing known as 'jigging' described by Loughton is rather astounding, and, to my knowledge, unparalleled elsewhere on the coast. When the mackerel were schooling off the Isles, the fishermen would sail out armed with 'jigs,' light poles with a barbless hook lashed to the lower end. Then they would begin a process known as 'tolling' north of Cape Cod, and 'chumming' on the south side. Old bits of stinking fish, clams and other offal were ground up and scattered around on the surface of the water. This would attract the mackerel in such numbers that the men would only have to jab their jigs down into the mass of shimmering, squirming bodies and on the upstroke they would have at least one fish impaled on the hook. A far cry from the fishermen of today with their radio telephones and underwater detection units.

In Jenness there is a passage which seems worth citing:¹² 'During the entire sixteenth century fishing vessels came hither from our eastern waters. Doggers and Pinkies of the English, clumsy Busses of Holland, light Fly-boats of Flanders, the Biskeiner and Portingal and many other odd high peaked vessels were attracted thither summer after summer.'

This shows that double enders were not novel to our coasts even in earliest times and it is therefore not surprising that in the late eighteenth century, when there was a need for small, inshore fishing boats, there was a type of double ender built near Essex, Massachusetts, known as the Chebacco boat.¹³ These boats were developed from the early shallops according to Chapelle. They were cat schooners not often over forty feet overall and had what was known as a 'pink-stern,' in which the bul-

¹¹ 'Palm, a Modern Pinky,' *Yachting* (May 1931).

¹² J. S. Jenness, *Isles of Shoals* (New York, 1873).

¹³ Chapelle, *American Sailing Craft*, Ch. 9; Davis, op. cit., pp. 14-16.

warks were carried out beyond the stern and ended in a 'tombstone' similar in shape to the stern of a fishing dory. As time went on they grew larger and by 1800 were used in the offshore fisheries. After the War of 1812 they gained the full schooner rig, with jib and bowsprit and became known as 'pinkies.' There were four distinct types of pinky according to Chapelle. The Essex pinky resembled the ships of her day, carrying her beam on deck for a great part of her length, having a bluff bow and a fine stern with a barrel-shaped midsection. These were wonderful sea boats,

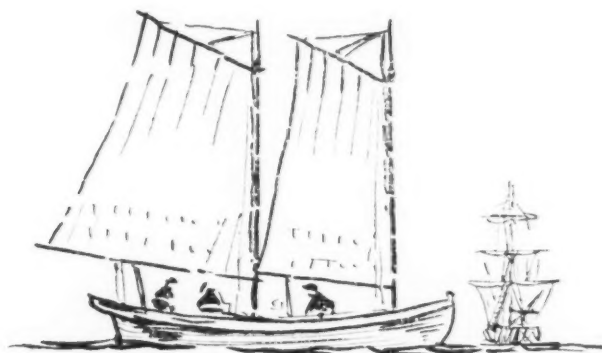


Fig. 5. Chebacco Boat

riding the seas duck-fashion, but must have been very slow to windward. They had a pronounced sheer and the bowsprit was steeved up to carry out the sheer. The Maine pinkies had less sheer, lower bulwarks, more deadrise and more beam in proportion to their length. The Canadian, or Yarmouth pinkies were much like the Essex boats, except that they had more deadrise and were very beamy. The Eastport pinkies were built for speed, and were easy to distinguish from the other types. They were much sharper, and had more deadrise; the stem, and even more so, the stern, were well raked, and there was a strong drag to the keel. The peculiar pink stern served several purposes, not least of which was that of a seat of ease. This would seem to have been a bit disagreeable in sloppy weather, but Chapelle says, 'Indeed no.' Otherwise it was used as a support for the mainsheet horse, a protection for the rudder and windbreak for the helmsman, a frame to hang nets on, and the 'tombstone' had a notch to serve as a boom crotch. The pinkies (Plate 11) are perhaps the most famous of all the New England double enders due mainly to their novel construction. There have been several developments of the pinkies in recent times for use as yachts and commercial craft, perhaps the most

authentic being Chapelle's *Glad Tidings*, and Jim Anderegg's *Surprise*, built and now located at Bucks' Harbor, Maine.¹⁴ Because of the comparative wealth of information on this type I have purposely limited my discussion to the barest essentials.

Moving south of Cape Cod we find that there they faced an entirely different problem. On the two islands where double enders were used, Martha's Vineyard and Block Island, they needed a boat which could be hauled up on the beach between trips. The men were farmer-fishermen, and since they did not spend all their time afloat, on Martha's Vineyard their homes were not near the harbors on the east end of the island but were spread all along its perimeter. The Block Islanders had no natural harbor at all.

The Martha's Vineyard or Chilmark boats, cat schooner rigged, evolved into a type ranging from about 15 to 22 feet overall.¹⁵ For a boat 18 feet overall the other dimensions were 15½ feet waterline, 6½ feet beam, and 3 feet of draft with the centerboard. This was an improvement added by George Butler in the 1880's, the previous boats drawing about 1½ feet with no board. While the early boats were quite full and chunky, eventually they became sharper. They were lightly constructed of cedar planking over oak frames, fastened with copper nails, some of which may well have been made by Paul Revere. Three or four thwarts were well kned in place by natural crooks, and in general they were of the best construction, for their owners' lives were dependent upon these staunch little craft. The shores of Martha's Vineyard were at one time liberally dotted with them. As time went on and fish grew scarce around the Vineyard it was found advantageous for the fishermen to have camps on the island of Noman's Land to the southwest, and soon there was a permanent settlement there. The Vineyard boats, which had differed widely in size and detail, became more or less standardized into the Noman's Land boat which was of the dimensions of the typical Vineyard boat previously mentioned.¹⁶ Some of them were smooth planked while others were lap-streaked, and all were rigged as cat ketches with spritsails.

As there was no harbor on the island the boats were hauled ashore after every trip, in the same manner as those on the Vineyard. They would be sailed in, the sails lowered, the masts dropped overside, and the bow allowed to ride up onto the hollowed rungs of an oak ladder laid flat in

¹⁴ Chapelle, 'Return of the Pinkie,' *Yachting* (Feb. 1938), p. 35; *Rudder Magazine* (Feb. 1937), p. 57; (June 1943), p. 36.

¹⁵ J. C. Allen, *Martha's Vineyard Boats* (Reynolds Printing Co., New Bedford, Mass.), copy in Widener Library, Harvard University.

¹⁶ W. H. Taylor, 'A Noman's Land Sailboat,' *Yachting* (March 1932), p. 74.

the sand, a bolt slipped through a hole in the stem, a strop clapped on, and they would trundle up the ladder in tow of a team of stunted oxen kept specially for this purpose.¹⁷ In later days the oxen were owned by Israel Luce, and he would charge each boat five dollars a season, no matter how many times she was hauled.¹⁸ The boats fished fairly close to the



Fig. 6. The Noman's Land 'Double-Enders' of the '70's
With double-reefed foresail and full mainsail these little boats would work to windward in a gale, providing there was 'one man to sail and one to bail'

island, the seasons lasting from April first to the end of May, and from October to December fifteenth. A few of the hardier souls would fish all winter. The method of fishing was mainly line trawling; hauling 3600 fathoms of heavy trawl over the roller was very heavy work.¹⁹ The loose footed sails were easy to roll up on the sprits if one knew how, but were superseded by more efficient gaff sails in some of the boats. One of the reasons why the boats were so small was to enable them to be rowed, and

¹⁷ Goode, *op. cit.*, Sec. V, Atlas, Plate 250.

¹⁸ A. M. Wood, *Noman's Land, Isle of Romance* (Reynolds Printing Co., New Bedford, 1931).

¹⁹ L. Howland, *Sou'West and By West of Cape Cod* (Harvard University Press, 1917).

often the men would row great distances when the breeze failed. The foresail (as they persisted in calling it, although it had grown to mainsail proportions) was overlapping and the sheets were led to wooden pegs in the underside of the gunwale, the main (or mizzen) sheet working through a block on an iron traveller around the tiller, and a wooden bullseye on the sail. All their gear was correspondingly simple, yet handy. While not fast, they were weatherly, and with a double or triple reefed mainsail and full mizzen, 'one man to sail and one to bail,' they would be taken out in the most ferocious weather. A more perfect small boat for launching stern first through the surf could hardly be imagined, for they were modeled with the S shaped sections aft which kept them sharp at the waterline while being full enough higher up to rise to the seas. That they were extremely able craft sailed by skillful seamen can be seen from their record of only two boats lost in their history of trips to the mainland and neighboring islands as well as fishing about Noman's Land in all weathers.

The Block Island boats are probably the oldest and one of the most unusual types on the New England coast, having been in use for over two hundred years. Their closest relative is probably the neighboring Noman's Land boat, but there are several marked differences which set them in a class by themselves. Contrary to popular opinion (if the opinion of the few people who even know they existed may be called popular) there are two types of Block Island boat between which it is necessary to distinguish, although they are very similar in type.

Block Island lies ten miles off the shore of Rhode Island, and after its exploration by the Dutchman, Adrian Block in 1614²⁰ during which he built a fort and a few houses, it remained in Indian hands until they massacred the crew of a ship which landed there, whereupon an expedition landed, wiped out the Indians and made it the property of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Shortly thereafter, in 1661,²¹ the first settlement was made by a group from the Colony who wished to establish a 'free State and Church which never sought to impose restrictions on others.' Naturally these settlers were dependent upon the sea for at least part of their livelihood as well as for their transport to the mainland. The Island, like Noman's Land, has no natural harbors, and its history is one of a long struggle against the elements to make and maintain artificial harbors.

²⁰ R. Dodge, *Tristram Dodge and Descendants* (J. J. Little Co., New York, 1886), pp. 198-201.

²¹ Rev. S. T. Livermore, A.M., *A History of Block Island* (Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., Hartford, 1877).

On the west side of the island lies Great Salt Pond, separated from the ocean by a narrow strip of beach and 'large and deep enough to hold the entire British Navy.' It was here that the first attempt at a harbor was made in 1680 by the cutting of a breachway across the narrowest part of the sandspit. This quickly filled in, despite all their efforts, and the project was abandoned in 1705. The next solution was the building of a breakwater known as 'The Pier' in the bight on the east side of the island. The boats could only lie here in calm weather, however. The Pier was finally broken down by a storm after twelve years' service. In 1773 another attempt was made at the Salt Pond, only to be abandoned in 1735 in favor of building an addition to the old pier or a new one near it. In 1736 both of these were done, but the result was not too successful. During subsequent years there was much agitation for a harbor of some sort. The Revolution put off the execution of another cut into the Salt Pond. In 1816 some unknown soul started the 'Pole Harbor' on the east by sinking a few oak spiles into the sand at right angles to the breakwater, to tie his boat to. Others soon followed suit and eventually there were over 1000 spiles, with short stone piers built out between the rows. The blackened remnants of some of these stakes are still visible at low water. This was still only a calm weather measure, however. In 1870 the government began construction of two breakwaters which now form the 'Old Harbor.' At the beginning of the present century the breach was again opened into the Salt Pond and protected by a stone groin on its south side so that there are now two harbors on the Island.

The result of all this vacillation was that until 1870 the Islanders had no place where their boats could be secure in foul weather, and they had to resort to the same tactics as the Noman's Landers, hauling their boats up on the beach, and although they used greased planks instead of ladders, the motive power was a similar team of stunted oxen. Also the boats had to be weatherly and able because the greatest traffic was with Newport, and the stretch of water including Point Judith, and the channel into Newport can become the nastiest on the Atlantic coast. The 'cow-horns,' as the boats developed for this usage were called, were not over 22 feet overall, 19 feet waterline, 9 feet beam, 4 feet 2 inches draft. They were lapstreaked, with straight raking stem and stern posts, and their sections showed the pronounced V with only a little rounding off above the water which is one of their most unusual features. As a result, despite their immense beam of a little under half their length, they were actually rather fine at the waterline and this effect was retained even when they heeled. Some of the better boats had the S sections aft whose advantages

have already been noted. They could carry a prodigious load of fish or other cargo for their size at the water because they increased their buoyancy so fast when loaded. Their rig, which has been thought by the best authorities to be that of a cat schooner with tall masts of equal height (twenty-seven feet) set perpendicular to the keel, has recently been thrown in doubt. There is a model in the National Museum which shows them to be cat ketches with the mizzenmast about three-quarters as high as the main. This model has been largely discounted by the experts, since it is grossly inaccurate in hull form. However, Goode gives evidence to substantiate the ketch rig and Paule S. Loring, whose *Glory Anna II* was built to a set of lines as closely approximating an old cowhorn as he could get by taking the lines from an old wreck on Block Island, says that he very often sails with a reef in the mizzen (or main, if you wish) because she balances better.²² With this evidence then, it seems more probable that the cat ketch is the true rig of the cowhorn. The sails were loose footed, the foresail overlapping, and were suspended from extremely short gaffs hoisted with a single halliard, reminiscent of Dutch practice, except for being straight instead of curved. There has been a good deal of talk about this 'Dutch influence' and mention of 'early Dutch settlers' is accompanied by wise nodding of heads, but the fact is that the Dutch did not have a great deal to do with the Island after the initial discovery, and the idea of short gaffs must have come through the English who used this rig from 1600-1700. The boats were fully as well built as their counterparts on Noman's Land, the same construction of copper-fastened cedar over oak being used. While little or nothing is known about the builders of the Noman's Land boats, on Block Island an early builder in Revolutionary times was John Rose and he was succeeded by Lemuel Rose. In later times Deacon Sylvester D. Mitchell was the builder and it is recorded that he would cut his timber on the mainland and bring it back (in a cowhorn) to build with. The cowhorns were ballasted with cobble stones from the beach which were tossed overboard as the boats were loaded or when they were to be hauled out. They were completely open, being crossed by three or four thwarts securely kneed in place. Their method of fishing was unique as far as I know. Having reached the grounds they would drop the foresail, let the mainsheet run, and let her drift off to leeward as pretty as you please, while they fished over the weather side.

With the building of the government harbor in 1870 came the end of the necessity of hauling the boats for every storm, and thus the limita-

²² Goode, op. cit., Atlas, Plate 46.

tion on size was removed. They probably had been needing bigger boats for some time, as everything that came to the Island had been brought in the cowhorns, and so the size of the boats after this time increased to a maximum of around forty feet, and this is the Block Island boat about which the greater part of the existing literature has been written. They represented only a minor part of the total number, however, for while there were about a dozen of the later type, there were five times as many of the cowhorns. The later boats, of which *Lena M.* and *Island Belle* were examples, resembled the cowhorns in general appearance, but were narrower in proportion.²³ Also, since they were not hauled out, at least part of their ballast was permanent, and it is reported that they would cover over the rocks with sand and then sow beach grass to tie the sand together and keep the ballast from shifting. Construction was, on the whole, heavier than that of the cowhorns, and with the event of the gasoline engine some of the boats had a large cuddy forward, separated from a galley amidships by a space of deck.

There have been two replicas of the Block Island boats built thus far: *Roaring Bessie*, a carvel planked boat to the lines of *Lena M.* by Martin C. Erismann, and *Glory Anna II*, the replica of a cowhorn. I am much indebted to Mr. Loring for his assistance in gathering material on these boats. Several of his stories are quite informative as well as amusing. It seems that there was a rumor going around that two brothers who owned one of the last Block Island boats could not agree as to who was the rightful owner and so they sawed her in two, each taking half. Mr. Loring dispelled this rumor when he discovered that there was truly one of the boats which had been sawed in two, but that it was only because she leaked too badly to be any good, so her owner cut her in two, set her bow on a stone wall and built a foundation under it to make a chicken house, while the stern was set off in a field to be used as an icehouse. He also relates of the time he was overboard while at anchor cutting away a line which had fouled in *Glory's* propeller and, after doubtfully eyeing her lofty topsides was wondering 'just how the hell the old boy like me was going to get back aboard.' He was swimming round the boat a bit hopelessly when he noticed that the notch in the afterside of the rudder, which he had previously considered only an ornamentation, was ideally placed for a step, the mainsheet horse forming a convenient handhold, where-with he clambered back aboard, rejoicing not only at being saved the in-

²³ W. M. Thompson, 'Roaring Bessie,' *Yachting* (April 1912), p. 261; P. S. Loring & K. Littlefield, 'Old Glamor Girls of the Bay,' *Providence Journal*, Feb. 1948.

convenience of drowning, but also at having discovered one more useful 'kink' devised by the resourceful Islanders.

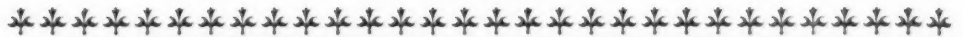
There are several similarities which mark the New England double enders as a group. As a rule they all have a sweeping sheer with high ends and a low midsection. Many have raking stem and sternpost, and practically all have the S section aft which, though harder to build, makes a great difference in the sailing qualities. The schooner rig takes preference, with cat rigs of all kinds being popular. There is a noticeable simplicity in rig, saving needless labor and expense, and lapstreak construction is used more than carvel, mainly for the boats where lightness is an important factor. There tends to be a good deal of similarity between the various types to the east of Cape Cod, and the jumble of names and slight modifications make the subject a hard one to unravel. In the light of past experience I have no doubt but that I will find other types that I have overlooked. A topic such as this is subject to constant revision.

Finally, it seems to me that a yachtsman desirous of a rough, inexpensive boat which will take him to sea in all weathers can find something among the multiplicity of craft developed on this coast that will suit him far better than a type imported from abroad. The proof of the question lies in the satisfaction of those who have already tried it.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Besides my sincere thanks to Mr. Paule S. Loring for giving so freely of a wealth of information on Block Island boats and for lending me the lines of several types, as well as for his fine illustrations which say more than pages of my prose, I wish to thank Mr. Llewellyn Howland of South Dartmouth, Mass., and Mr. L. Francis Herreshoff of Marblehead, Mass., for their invaluable aid in tracking down little-known boats. Mr. Alfred Brownell of Providence, R. I., who is making a series of excellent models for the Providence Public Library depicting New England fishing boats, was kind enough to lend me two photographs of his work. I also thank Mr. Chapelle for the information obtained from his letters to Mr. Loring and refer the reader to his new book, soon to be published, on New England fishing craft.

David Cabot, who lives in Westerly, Rhode Island, is an undergraduate student at Harvard College. His main interest is boats and sailing. He has been sailing since the age of three and has cruised the New England Coast from Long Island Sound to the Bay of Fundy.



San Francisco to Balboa in the Schooner Dauntless

Memories of an AB

BY EMMETT A. HOSKINS

AFTER serving in the Navy during World War I, followed by several years of sea-going in merchant steamers, I found myself in the spring of 1924 on the beach at San Francisco and eager for a berth in almost any craft that floated. On my daily trips around the waterfront my attention was drawn to the schooner *Dauntless* aboard which there was considerable activity. I soon learned that she was preparing to sail about 500 miles down the coast to the small California port of Balboa where she was to be used in a motion picture. Fortunately for me they were short an AB, and when I applied for work they promptly shipped me off the dock.

Thus began my first experience in a sailing vessel and I was soon to learn that the way of a sailor in a wind ship can be more laborious (though perhaps more satisfying spiritually) than the life of his brother in the world of steam-propelled craft. A generation has passed since then but the experiences of that voyage are still vivid in my memory.

Dauntless was a small, bald-headed, four-master of 478 tons net. Built at Hoquiam, Washington, in 1898, she was typical of her class. When I joined her she was lying at Alameda. She had just come off the dry-dock and was as handsome as fresh paint could make her except that her houses and bulwarks could have used a coat of white. Good copper paint below the waterline and glistening black above, together with a neat white beading along the level of the maindeck, gave her a smart appearance. Her gear was good, her sails new, and all was in readiness for the towboat to take us through the Golden Gate.

As was so often the case among west coast vessels, the master was of Scandinavian birth. A mate, four AB's and the cook completed the crew. When the watches were told off, an old-time Hollander and I were drawn by the mate.

We turned to, getting on board the anchors which were hanging from the hawsepipes. These were no sooner catted and the flukes hove on to

the bulwarks when the donkey boiler blew several of its tubes and put out the fire. From then on our schooner was a hand-puller and while she may have remained *Dauntless*, we upon whom the burden fell could not be described in such terms.

Shortly before noon a towboat puffed alongside and nudged us out of the Creek. Thereupon we took her towing hawser and made it fast to the sampson post with several round turns, making the tail-rope fast to a cleat. In this way the hawser could be slipped at a moment's notice.

Approaching the lightship, the order was passed to get sail on her. With no steam power to help hoist the sails, even the captain turned to with us, leaving only the man at the wheel while the mainsail was set. The captain stationed each man on the halliards according to his weight. Being the heaviest, he took the lead while I, as the lightest member of the ship's company, was put at the tail or at the pin. We would hoist about ten feet on the throat halliard and then shift to the peak halliard, and so on, heaving away alternately until the sail could be set taut by the halliard purchases.

With the mainsail set *Dauntless* lay by the wind on the starboard tack. The tug was cast off and the helmsman put the wheel in becketts and helped set the remaining sails. The mizzen was set next, followed by the foresail, spanker, and the fore staysail, jib, flying jib and jib topsail. It took us nearly four hours to set all the sails by main strength. We had a fair NW wind and sea and with the wheel in becketts were making a good seven or eight knots by the wind.

An ex-Bering Sea cod-fishing schooner, a bald-headed three-master, had also been signed up for motion picture work and though she had followed us to sea, she had made sail faster than we and was now running free to the southward, determined, if possible, to beat *Dauntless* on the run to Balboa. We continued by the wind, however, and did not run free until after midnight.

The next day broke fair, with *Dauntless* running before a fresh wind with a bone in her teeth. She had become a thing of beauty, her white sails curving taut to leeward straining to drive her ever faster. From her jibboom the view of her deck, her bow wave, and the endless sea was a sight to stir one's soul and I would gladly have sat out on that jibboom for hours on end if I had been given the chance. The brilliantly painted United States shield on her bowsprit cap and the metal star that graced each cat-head are etched indelibly in my memory.

But there was work to be done and precious little time was given by the mate for any of us to relax and absorb the beauties of nature and our

stout ship. With the new day, the flying jib was found to be set upside down and had to be unbent and reset properly. The mate asked if I'd ever done that job before and when I told him 'No,' he proceeded to demonstrate the correct way to pass a hank roband and then sent me out on the jibboom to get on with the task. I regarded it as a personal opportunity for sailorizing and tried earnestly to do a first-class job of rebending the luff to the hanks and shifting the halliard, downhaul and sheet.

Trimming sail occupied us from time to time and a brief description of this operation may be of interest. As was customary on west coast schooners, the halliards of *Dauntless* were all rigged with halliard purchases or 'jigs.' That is to say that neither end of the halliard was fixed to the gaff. After running through the throat or peak blocks as the case might be, one end of the halliard ran to a lead-block on the waterway and up to a pin on the rail. The other end was spliced to a double block which was rove off with a single block fixed to the opposite bulwark. These halliard purchases, or 'jigs' as they were called on the Atlantic coast, facilitated trimming the sails by manpower. After the advent of steam winches on Atlantic coast schooners, jigs were gradually done away with. There the supply of coal was plentiful, often easily obtainable merely for the taking from the cargo, and steam was maintained while at sea. On the Pacific coast, however, scrap wood from the lumber mills was the usual fuel for the boiler and it was customary to let the fire go out during the first day at sea. Thereafter all sail handling, reefing and trimming was done without benefit of steam power. Thus halliard purchases remained an essential feature of west coast schooners.

On this voyage, in setting the sails we had 'two-blocked' these halliard purchases and consequently could not take up any more on them. Therefore we slacked off the halliard purchases by throwing them off the pins (as the ends had stopper knots in them they could not unreeve through the eyebolts on the bulwarks) and with a watch tackle on the halliard we would draw the sail up as taut as we could make it.

When that task was over we rigged a tail-block on the backstays and with a canvas bucket heaved sea water aboard to wash down her decks. The day of holy-stones was long past and we made do with plenty of sea water and brooms. When that was done we coiled down all the halliards ready for running and squared up the sheets, boom tackles, down hauls, lifts, and lazy-guys until things were shipshape. This was an endless process, however, as it was repeated after every change in the wind or course that necessitated tacking or trimming the sails.

On a schooner the sheets and boom tackles are never hitched lest they

become so tightly jammed that a fid would be needed to clear them. *Dauntless* had fine, big, oak sheet cleats with fair-leads from the deck sheet-blocks and her sheets were handy and always ready for use.

She tacked very handily and the seamanship involved in such maneuvers held a fascination for me. On the command 'Ready about,' the headsail sheets would be let go, allowing the headsails to flap idly, and the fore staysail sheet would be eased to leeward, making the boom fast to a cleat. Then the old man would order the helm down and she would come up into the wind. The boom tackles were then eased off, working from aft forward, so that the sheets took the strain on the new tack. By slacking off the spanker first the schooner was encouraged to come up into the wind faster, the leverage of the spanker being supplemented by the fore staysail which was held aback to box her around. As she swung off on the new tack, the fore staysail line was eased to allow the strain to come on the sheet, and the other headsails were hauled home. Then the boom tackles were shifted over to leeward and the lines coiled back on their pins.

In a calm the gaffs swung endlessly from side to side as the vessel rolled, flapping the sails noisily and causing the jaws of the booms to bang loudly against the masts. Usually the mate slacked off the peak purchases to ease the gaffs and reduce the strain on the leeches. *Dauntless* was rigged with single lifts which, leading as they did from the end of the boom to the starboard tressle-trees of the next mast aft, had a tendency to pull the boom away from the mast. When this tension was released by rolling in a calm, the booms jumped forward against the masts with a considerable thump. One was most aware of this during his watch below when the banging against the foremast which passed through the forecandle became mighty aggravating.

The parrals on the gaff jaws of *Dauntless* were worthy of note. On most schooners of my acquaintance a mere length of $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch wire rope was spliced into the jaws to hold the gaffs in place against the masts, but on our vessel the wire was equipped with a number of hardwood rollers and the ends were fitted with leather washers and had neat man-rope knots worked in them.

On the second day out the wind freshened to about No. 6 Beaufort Scale, and *Dauntless* ran beautifully at about ten knots. She handled well and though the wheel was heavy from the speed of the vessel, with a following sea it kicked a little. I took deep satisfaction in my trick at the wheel for not only were we trying to beat the three-master, but it seemed as if we were racing the seas themselves. The weather soon moderated to

a fresh breeze and the old man came on deck. He told the mate that we would wear ship. By this time we were well outside the Santa Barbara Islands and although we could sail the same course on either tack, the old man figured that by getting on the port tack now we would make things easier when he should decide to haul in after we got south of the Islands.

The watch below was called and the men stationed at the boom tackles. The helm was put hard up but she refused to pass her stern through the wind. We tried for over half an hour but she would not wear around with the use of her helm alone and finally the old man decided to let her remain on the starboard tack. Of course we could have lowered our spanker if the captain had been determined to wear, but without steam, to do so meant a lot of hand-pulling in setting it again.

At the wheel I could overhear the captain discussing the course with the mate. He was undecided whether to go through the Santa Barbara Channel or stay outside. The mate said something about the possibility of a very strong wind or draft between the Islands and the mainland which would speed us through but the captain seemed more impressed by the possibility of becoming becalmed in the Channel, in which case it would be difficult to get outside. In the end we continued our course outside the Santa Barbara Islands which we passed during the night.

In due time the captain hauled her in so that we passed between Catalina Island and San Pedro. Here the wind blew itself out and the remaining light air barely gave us steerageway. At the wheel I kept her head right on Balboa Pier though to do so I had to keep the helm hard down. The mate was a skilled sailorman and he would bring her up or let her fall off as necessary by trimming the spanker with the boom tackle. Our wake for some distance astern looked like a smooth and straight roadway.

About a half-mile off Balboa Pier we hove to after a three-and-a-half-day passage. The captain could not get a pilot to bring us into Newport Bay, and so we stood offshore and lay hove to for several days between Catalina Island and Balboa. The prospect of anchoring on an exposed beach especially without steam power for the windlass did not appeal to our old man but he was afraid of being driven to the southward and finally we stood in and anchored off the Pier.

The captain ordered from shore some tapered steel plugs so we could repair the boiler. These were driven into the leaky tubes with a topping maul and thus the boiler was sealed sufficiently to raise fifty pounds of steam pressure. This was just barely enough to heave up the anchor provided we gave some help with the capstan in breaking the anchor out.

The captain was finally successful in engaging a pilot and a small towboat to bring us into Newport Bay. The pilot was an amateur, a yachtsman whose services were much appreciated in the total absence of commercial pilots on the Bay. Using a short towing hawser the towboat started in with us. As we passed the then newly built breakwater and headed inside, the pilot gave an order to the helmsman who was our old Hollander. Unfortunately he gave a rudder order, Navy style, rather than the helm or tiller order as used in merchant vessels and as a consequence we scraped our counter on the rocks and grounded on a sand bar. The old man tried every trick he could think of to refloat the vessel but finally everything removable had to be unshipped and loaded on a barge. After the anchors, chains, gaffs, booms, sails and about everything else in sight had been lightered, the tug succeeded in pulling us off at high tide and laid us alongside the dock at Balboa.

Our rival, the three-masted, ex-cod-fisherman, arrived later after a long two-weeks' passage. They had sailed down the coast and, as our old man had feared might happen to us, she had laid becalmed in the Santa Barbara Channel. I took a good deal of satisfaction in our captain's shrewd judgment and felt some of the same pride which, in an earlier generation must have stirred the breast of many a sailor when his clipper made port.

Emmett A. Hoskins, whose first voyage in sail is here described, is a patient at a U. S. Veterans Hospital in Arkansas. During the 1920s he served in several passenger and cargo steamers, a number of steam schooners, and in four sailing vessels including the four-master Minnie A. Caine and the five-master Thistle.



An Early American Neptune

BY ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN

WE will ruefully admit that the title of this article employs questionable means to attract the attention of readers of this journal. Yet it should be said by way of apology that the 'noble steam-vessel' *Neptune* which we propose to describe, actually is deserving of respectful notice without resort to any variety of trickery. The good ship was a pioneer in the coastwise service of the southeastern Atlantic seaboard, seas still virtually uncharted by present-day steamboat historians and enthusiasts.

As one of the earliest ocean-going American steam vessels, *Neptune* was built at New York in 1836 by Lawrence and Sneed and measured 745 tons, her wooden hull being 215 feet in length by 25.4 feet in breadth by 14 feet in depth. She was powered by one of James P. Allaire's so-called 'square' or cross-head engines of which the cylinder diameter was 50 inches. The piston's stroke of 11½ feet turned radial paddle wheels 25 feet in diameter. As originally designed, the steamer had two tall funnels in tandem, but as she was completed she was only provided with one. Two masts carried auxiliary fore-and-aft sails on permanent gaffs and she also had a square sail which could be hoisted on the foremast. According to her official documents,¹ she carried as figurehead a male bust, in all probability representing her eponym. So much for the appearance of the vessel. The accompanying illustrations suffice better than words to show what the boat was like.

Although as strongly built as it was then possible to make her, *Neptune* was hardly fitted for outside service in all seasons and several of her associates on the Charleston and Savannah service came to serious grief. Engine builder Allaire was one of the moving spirits behind the establishment of the line, but judged by later standards his engines were weak

¹ In the National Archives. But see, *Ship Registers and Enrollments of New Orleans* (Washington, 1942), III, 154, item no. 794; and IV, 205, item no. 1033.

and low-powered and entirely inadequate to provide means of crawling off the lee shore of a Hatteras storm, a fault common to all engines of the period.²

Neptune received temporary registration papers in New York on 27 January 1838, her first permanent enrollment being granted at Charleston five days later upon her arrival there, terminating her maiden coastwise voyage. But effects of the 1837 Depression were being strongly felt and lack of sufficient patronage soon showed that the public was not then ready for this service. The steamer made only a couple of voyages before her original owners decided to pull out. A syndicate headed by James Reed then acquired her at a bargain price.³

In May 1839, *Neptune* was encountered at Charleston by a particularly interested and observing English visitor, James Silk Buckingham, whose memoirs contains the following passage descriptive of the boat:⁴

During our stay here we made a very pleasant evening's excursion in a noble steam-vessel called the *Neptune*, commanded by Captain [James] Pennoyer, who took a party from Charleston down to the bar of entrance to the harbour, and back. . . .

The steamer in which we made our excursion was built at New York for the purpose of conveying passengers between that port and Charleston. She was the most splendid steam-vessel I had seen in the South, having cost 137,000 dollars, or nearly 30,000 £ sterling. Her length was 220 feet, her measurement about 700 tons and her two engines of 250-horse power. Her interior arrangements were admirable, and her furniture and fittings superb. In consequence, however, of the great check to public confidence, occasioned by the loss of the *Home*⁵ and *Pulaski*⁶ steamers going from this port and Savannah by sea, few persons were willing to risk the danger; but the complete success of the *Great Western*⁷ and *Liverpool*⁸ in crossing the Atlantic; and still more the safe arrival of the little Iron steamboat *Stockton*,⁹ of

² J. H. Morrison, *History of New York Shipyards* (New York, 1909), p. 58. Some New York-built Atlantic coastwise steamers of the late 1830's included *David Browne*, *Home*, *William Gibbons*, *Columbia*, *New York*, and *Neptune*.

³ Owners included James Reed, Robinson & Caldwell, James Pennoyer, James Hamilton, Alex Black, Alex Calder, and William Calder.

⁴ J. S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (2 vols., London, 1842), I, 562-564.

⁵ Coastwise steam packet *Home*, built in 1836 and wrecked on the beach at Ocracoke, North Carolina, in a northeast gale on her third voyage between New York and Charleston. *Home* had been condemned as unseaworthy but sailed anyway and was wrecked on 9 October 1837 with a loss of 95 lives.

⁶ Coastwise steam packet *Pulaski*, exploded and sank on 14 June 1838 off the Carolina coast en route from Savannah to Baltimore with a loss of 140 persons.

⁷ British auxiliary steamship *Great Western* arrived at New York on 23 April 1838 on her maiden voyage from Bristol only a few hours after *Sirius* had arrived from Cork.

⁸ British auxiliary steamship *Liverpool* arrived on 23 November 1838 on her initial transatlantic voyage from Liverpool to New York.

⁹ The 70-foot iron steamboat *Robert F. Stockton*, built by John Laird of Birkenhead and fitted with experimental Ericsson propellers, crossed the Atlantic under sail and arrived at New York in May 1839 after a remarkable 46-day passage. She was then converted into the steam tug *New Jersey* for the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company.

thirty tons, built in England for the Raritan Canal, and just arrived at New York, being the smallest vessel of any kind that ever crossed the Western Ocean, have contributed to revive public confidence; and already upwards of a hundred berths were engaged in the *Neptune*, to go from hence to New York, at thirty dollars each. During the great depression [of 1837], however, when coast-navigation by steam was almost given up, this beautiful vessel lay idle; and was then sold by her owners, who had given up all hope of making her profitable, and bought by her present proprietors for 28,000 dollars, about a fifth of her original cost, though scarcely two years old—such are the fluctuations in the value of property here, in a short space of time!

Apparently Captain James Pennoyer was replaced by Captain William Rollins shortly thereafter and he remained in charge for the few remaining years of the vessel's short life. Rollins, a Baltimorian, was evidently not only a popular, but also a redoubtable mariner. The Maryland Historical Society has in its marine collection a handsome five-piece silver service bearing the inscription:

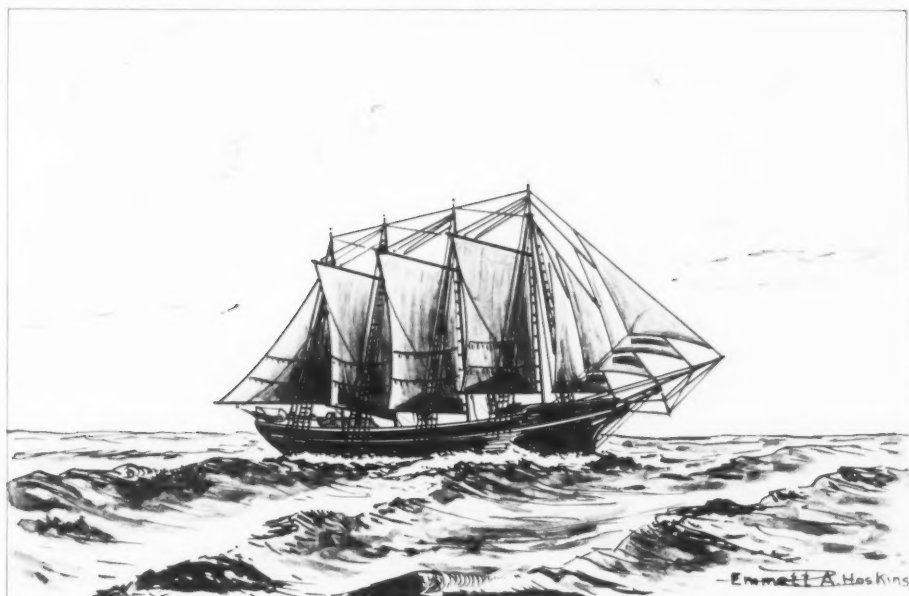
Presented to Capt. William Rollins by the passengers on the S. S. *Neptune*, 1840, testimonial of their regard for the skill and undaunted Firmness displayed by him during her perilous voyage from New York to Charleston October 1840.¹⁰

According to published intention, *Neptune* was scheduled to leave New York for Charleston in late October and was due to arrive on the twenty-eighth, proceeding thence to New Orleans via Havana. The ship news section of the Charleston newspapers reported vessels in distress and putting back to port in the teeth of strong southeast gales as late as 30 October 1840 and *Neptune* herself did not arrive at Charleston until 5 November.¹¹ Apparently the 'superior steamer' was undamaged for she left the next day for Havana and the Gulf ports.

The next two years found the steamer in comparatively regular employment between New Orleans and Cuba and in 1842 J. F. Hugu of Bridgeport, Connecticut, painted the portrait, regrettably water stained, which is reproduced here (Plate 16). This shows what is probably meant to be Havana's Morro Castle in the right background and *Neptune* carries by courtesy the Cuban flag at her main gaff, the American ensign flying astern. But this service did not last either and in 1844 *Neptune* was again enrolled out of New York, apparently running thence in highly competitive service on Long Island Sound. In any event, the following

¹⁰ This silver service and the water color of *Neptune* were bequests to the Society in 1936 from the estate of Commodore Thornton Rollins (1840-1935), once operator of sailing vessels in the South American coffee trade and a son of Captain William Rollins, who died in 1877.

¹¹ Charleston *Courier*, 13 October, 30 October, 6 November 1840.



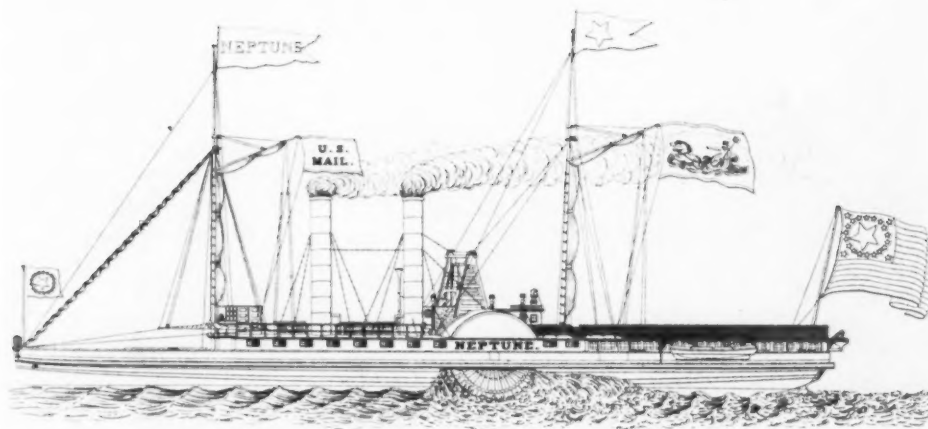
Schooner *Dauntless* from a wash drawing by Emmett A. Hoskins



DAUNTLESS BELAYING PIN PLAN
Schooner "DAUNTLESS" Built at Hoquiam, Washington in 1898
Length 162.2 feet. Breadth 37.3 ft. Depth 13.2 ft. 546.30 Gross Tons
478.13 Net Tons
WATERCRAFT COLLECTION
of the SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
U.S. NATIONAL MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, D.C.

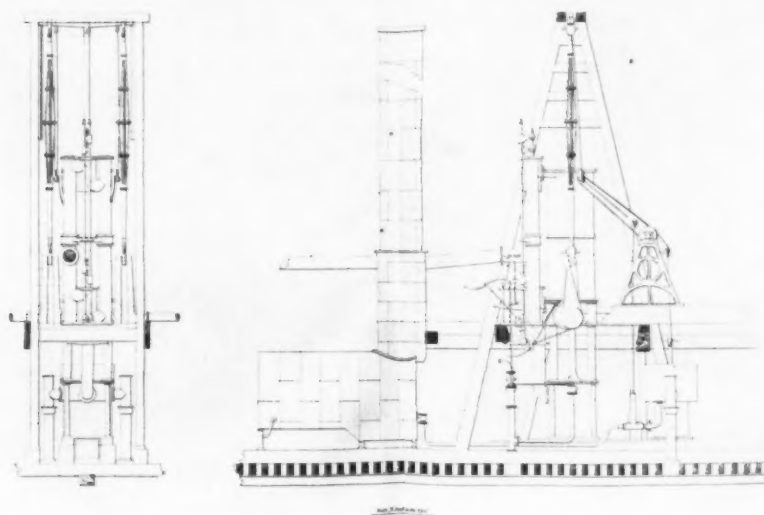


Belaying pin plan of *Dauntless*



'View of the United States Mail Steam Vessel *Neptune*.' Drawn by James Renwick. From *Illustrations of Steam Machinery and Steam Machinery and Steam Naval Architecture*. (Atlas of Tredgold's work on the steam engine, John Weale, 1840)

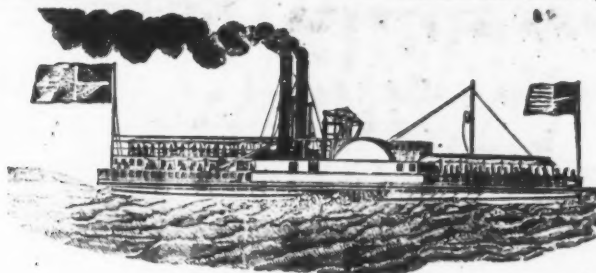
Courtesy of The Mariners' Museum



'Engine of the Steam Packet *Neptune* as made by Mr. James P. Alaire, N. Y.' Drawn by P. R. Hodgk for *The Steam Engine, its Origin and Gradual Improvement . . .* (New York, 1841)

Courtesy of The Mariners' Museum

FOR
NEW-YORK.



THE SPLENDID STEAMBOAT

NEPTUNE,

CAPT. W. ROLLINS.)

WILL LEAVE NEWPORT

EVERY TUESDAY, THURSDAY, AND SATURDAY,

AT ABOUT 8 O'CLOCK. A. M.

Fare 75 cts.

FREIGHT TAKEN AT THE LOWEST PRICES.

Will leave Providence for New-York from Railroad Wharf

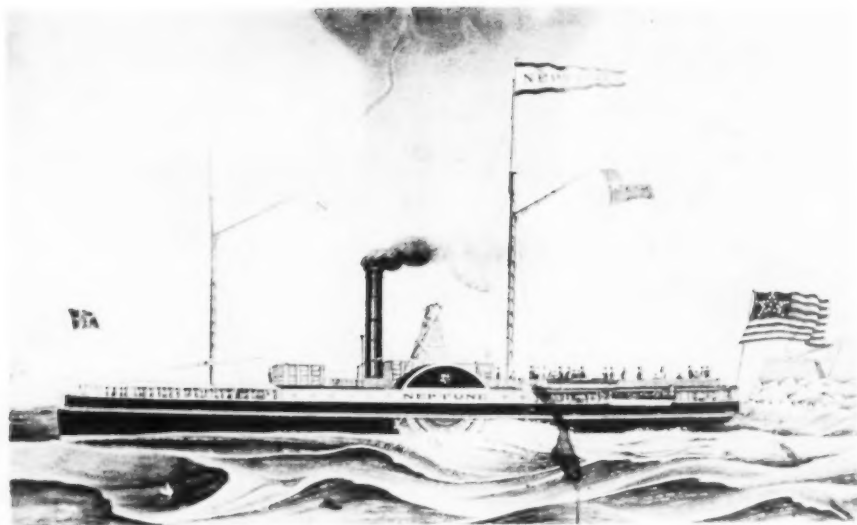
'Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday

Immediately after the arrival of the Train from Boston.

For PASSAGE or FREIGHT, apply on Board.

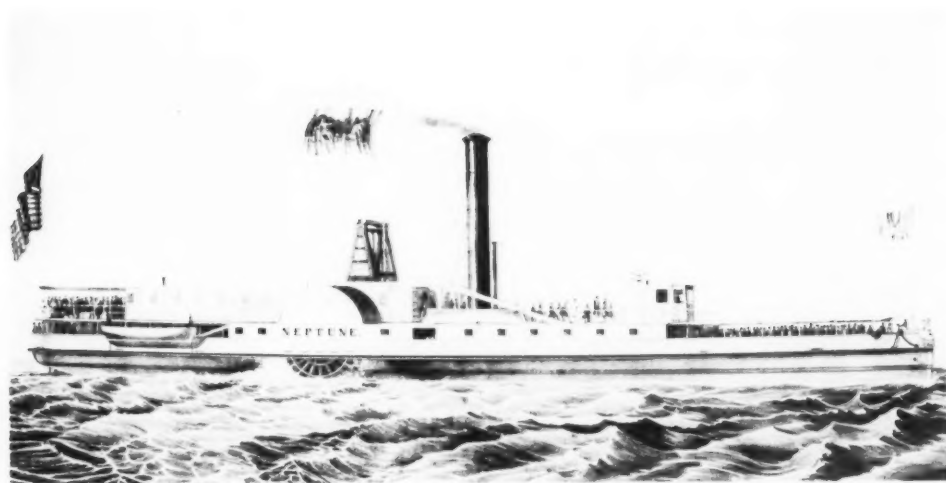
Broadside advertisement of *Neptune*, circa 1845, in the Newport Historical Society. The steamboat cut is a stock item and does not resemble *Neptune*

From a photograph by William King Covell



New Orleans and Havana Steam Packet *Neptune*, Capt. William Rollins. Watercolor by J. F. Hoge, Bridgeport, 1842

Courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society



Steamer *Neptune*. Lithograph by C. & W. Endicott

Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem

year she was involved in the slightly fantastic adventure recounted in the following printed 'card':

A CARD TO THE PUBLIC. DARING OUTRAGE—DESPERATE ATTEMPT OF THE MONOPOLY LINE TO CROWD THE *NEPTUNE* OFF HER COURSE.

One of the most daring, disgraceful and contemptible acts ever perpetrated by what is known to be the Monopoly Line of Steamboats via Providence to New York, was attempted on Wednesday afternoon by the commander of the *Massachusetts*, Capt. [William] Comstock, against the steamer *Neptune*. It was no other than an attempt to run down the *Neptune*, regardless of both property or life. The facts, as drawn by an eyewitness, in plain language, are as follows. The three steamboats, *Cleopatra*, *Neptune*, and *Massachusetts*, were advertised to leave New York at 5 o'clock, P.M. The *Cleopatra* left her berth first, the *Neptune* following close in her wake, and the *Massachusetts* bringing up the rear. The several boats kept up their course in this line until they came near Woods Island, when the *Massachusetts* attempted to pass the *Neptune* on her bows, but the *Neptune* kept steady on her course and received the *Massachusetts* on the guard, and threw her on the side, leaving one of her wheels completely out of the water. For a few minutes the *Massachusetts* kept away, but she soon returned, and made a most outrageous attempt again to pass the *Neptune*. In doing so she came in direct collision, with a heavy crash, against the latter boat, and the guards of both boats became closely locked together; and both in this novel situation sailed together for more than twenty minutes, the *Neptune* being half her length ahead of the *Massachusetts*. All this time the passengers in both boats were in the highest state of alarm, and every one on board apprehended great danger; and the commander of the *Neptune* being urgently solicited to ask Capt. Comstock what his object was in conducting himself thus madly, did so, and received a most brutal and profane reply.

The course taken by Capt. Comstock to run down the *Neptune*, was acknowledged by every one on board to be most desperate and wicked; it was quite as mad an act as it would be for the Norwich and Providence cars to attempt to cross each other at angles, both going at full speeds, and one that deserved, and received at the time, the utmost degree of indignation from every fair and honest eye-witness.

But the *Neptune*, being a staunch boat, sustained little or no injury from the concussion, and happily escaped the ruin evidently contemplated by the reckless captain of the Monopoly in hanging his anchors on the side of his boat for the purpose of raking the *Neptune* and disabling her for sea. These are the facts, and to which every passenger's name is allowed to be annexed.

Yours, respectfully,
JOSEPH C. PRAY

Boston, May 15th, 1845

P.S. I make this voluntary statement in haste, as an act of justice to the commander of the *Neptune*, Capt. Wm. Rollins.¹²

¹² Unidentified newspaper clipping in the Maryland Historical Society, kindly brought to my attention by Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland.

Less spectacularly, *Neptune* continued her New York-Providence service for only a little over another year. She could command a ready market when the Mexican War broke out and on 17 August 1846 George Law disposed of her to advantage to the United States Government for service as a troop transport. Captain Rollins went along with the then ill-fated ship.

On her first voyage in war service, *Neptune* carried 450 troops to newly captured Tampico arriving there on 22 November 1846. Two days later, her troops safely disembarked, she sailed again but encountered a severe Norther and was driven back and wrecked on the bar. Miraculously all hands were saved, but the vessel herself, then only ten years old, was a total loss. Captain Rollins returned to the United States in the sloop-of-war *St. Mary's* and provided the following account of the disaster which must serve as *Neptune's* obituary:¹³

Report of the Loss of Steamer Neptune.

The steamship *Neptune* departed from the bar of Tampico on the 24th November, 1846, with fine weather and light winds from the south-east bound direct for the bar of Matamoras. At 9 o'clock P.M., being about forty-five miles north of Tampico, the wind suddenly shifted to the north and commenced blowing a perfect hurricane, and in spite of all the power of the machinery, the vessel could not be kept head to sea. It was soon discovered that she was drifting rapidly to leeward, and at 3 o'clock P.M., soundings were made and found that she was drifted into eleven fathoms of water.

The best bower anchor was cleared away and let go, when its chain was paid out to its bitter end; but finding her still drifting, the second anchor was let go, when she brought up and rode, head to the wind and sea, for about an hour, when the wind increasing and the sea rising, she again commenced drifting and although the engine was constantly kept working she could not be kept head to wind. After she had drifted into seven fathoms water, and the sea making a fair breach over her, the chains were then slipped to attempt to keep her off shore.

At day-break on the morning of the 25th November, she was found to be off the bar of Tampico, when the upper deck was cut away together with the mainmast, when she was got before the wind. Finding that the coal had been nearly all expended, she was headed for Tampico bar, and at eight o'clock A.M., she struck aground on the head of said bar, where she remained four hour[s] with the sea making a complete breach all over her. At meridian of the same day, she bilged and commenced breaking up. At 4 o'clock P.M., the U. S. Steamer *Spitfire*, Capt. Tattnal, sent boats to her assistance and rescued the captain and crew from their perilous situation.

On the following morning (26th November), she was found to be a perfect wreck, with nothing to be seen except her gallows frame and engine. Had it not been for Capt. Tattnal, officers and crew's intrepid exertions, we should all have been lost before morning; and their kind treatment to us after we were on board of the *Spit-*

¹³ Unidentified newspaper clipping in the Maryland Historical Society.

fire, entitles them to our heartfelt gratitude. On the 26th of November we were landed at Tampico at about 3 o'clock P.M. where I remained two days, when Com. Connor despatched the sloop of war *St. Mary's* for Pensacola, to touch at Brazos Santiago, to land Mr. Austin, bearer of despatches from Gen. Patterson. I took passage for that place, but Capt. Hill boarded us and said that there was no vessel at Brazos Santiago for New Orleans—so I continued on board the sloop, and was by her transferred to the steamer *Hercules* at the S. W. P[ass] on the 2d inst., at 3 o'clock P.M., after a passage of fifty hours from Brazos Santiago—she being close hauled all the passage. . . .

Before closing this unfortunate narrative of the loss of my vessel, I must here tender my gratitude to the officers of the navy, off Tampico, for their kindness and hospitality extended to me.

WM. ROLLINS

Late Master U. S. Steamer *Neptune*

New Orleans, Dec. 4th, 1846.

So terminated the not too spectacular career of the steamer *Neptune*.

Alexander Crosby Brown is an editor and frequent contributor to THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE. He was formerly editor of publications at the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, and is at present engaged in newspaper work in that city.

Ships that Tested the Blockade of the Gulf Ports, 1861-1865

BY MARCUS W. PRICE

Part III

III. DURING CALENDAR YEAR 1863

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Gulf Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
A. B. Noyes	steamer					1
Agnes	schooner			captured off the Tortugas, 31 Mar.	from	
Agnes	schooner					2
A. J. Dodge	schooner	12*		captured lat. 28° N., long. 86° W., 13 May	for	1
Alabama	steamer	536	27	captured off Chandeleur Islands, 12 Sept.	for	5
Alabama	schooner				for	1
Albert [Wenona]	(pilot boat)	52.84*	7	captured off St. Louis Pass, 18 Apr.		
Albert Edward [Uncle Bill]	schooner			captured off Mobile Bar, 30 Nov.	from	3
Alice [Matagorda]	schooner					6
Alice Vivian [Fox]	steamer	616 50/95	22			10
Amaranth	steamer	432 82/95	22	captured off Mobile, 16 Aug.	from	2
	schooner			captured lat. 24° 25' N., long. 83° 30' W., 27 Sept.		
				Apparently restored		
Amelia Ann	schooner			captured off Brazos Santiago, — Nov.	for	
America	schooner			captured about 50 miles off Rio Grande, 27 Aug.	for	1
Anita	schooner			captured at sea, 27 Oct.	from	
Ann	schooner			captured Charlotte Harbor, Fla., 8 July	from	2
Anna	schooner			captured Suwannee River, 26 Feb.	for	
Anna Maria	schooner			captured Steinhatchee River, 28 June		2
Ann F. Lee	schooner					1
Annie B.	schooner			captured lat. 27° N., long. 83° W., 17 Apr.	from	
Annie Clapp [Ascension]	schooner			captured lat. 28° 35' N., long. 83° 00' W., 11 Apr.	for	
Antonia	steamer	246 (approx.)		captured about 30 miles S.E. of Cape San Blas, 6 Jan.	for	
Antonica	steamer					2
Arctic	schooner			captured at sea, 15 Nov.		
Arthur Benks [or Arthur Brooks]	schooner					1
Arist	schooner			captured lat. 28° N., long. 95° W.	for	
Ascension [Annie Clapp]	schooner					
Atlantic	schooner	90 38/95	1			
Atlantic	steamer			captured off coast of Texas, 10 Aug. Restored		2
Badger	schooner					3

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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Artist	Ship	Date	Notes	Result	Remarks
Atlantic	Atlantic	20-28/95	captured off coast of Texas, 10 Aug. Restored	1	for
Badger	Badger		captured —, 25 Mar.	4	
Bangor	Bangor			1	
Belle	Belle			1	
Ben	Ben			1	
Blazer	Blazer			1	
Blue Bell	Blue Bell			1	
Brave	Brave			1	
Break o' Day	Break o' Day			1	
Emma	Emma			6	
Bright	Bright				
Backhart	Backhart				
Camilla	Camilla				
Carmila	Carmila				
Caroline	Caroline				
Caroline [Rosita, Union]	Caroline				
Caroline Gertrude	Caroline Gertrude				
Cecilia D.	Cecilia D.				
Chance	Chance				
Clara	Clara				
Clarita	Clarita				
Clyde	Clyde				
Collmar	Collmar				
Comet	Comet				
Concordia	Concordia				
Cora	Cora				
Crazy Jane	Crazy Jane				
Cuba	Cuba				
Daniel S. Grace	Daniel S. Grace				
Dart	Dart				
Dashing Wave	Dashing Wave				
Diana	Diana				
Director	Director				
Don Jose	Don Jose				
D. Sargent	D. Sargent				
Duff Post	Duff Post				
Echo	Echo				

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

NAME OF VESSEL.	Type.	Tons.	Crew.	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed.	Bound for or from Gulf Port.	Known Successful Runs During Year.
<i>Eduard</i>	schooner				for	2
<i>Elias</i> [or <i>Elisha</i>] <i>Beckwith</i>	sloop			captured off Suwanee River, 24 Dec.	for	1
<i>Eliot Beckwith</i>	schooner			captured off Mobile, 23 Apr.		
<i>Elizabeth</i>	schooner	70		captured lat. 23° N., long. 83° W., 14 June		1
<i>Elizabeth Morse</i>	schooner					1
<i>Ellen</i>	schooner					1
<i>Elvira Eager</i>	schooner	37 75/95				1
<i>Emilie</i>	schooner					2
<i>Emily</i>	schooner					
<i>Emma</i> [Break o' Day, <i>Wide Awake</i>]	schooner	94*	7	captured Cedar Keys, 3 July	from	
<i>Emma</i>	sloop	85 56/95		captured St. Andrew's Bay, 2 May		1
<i>Emma Amelia</i>	schooner					1
<i>Eolhus</i>	schooner			captured off Mobile, 6 May		
<i>Eugenie</i>	steamer	168*		captured lat. 27° 16' N., long. 91° 26' W., 22 Nov.		
<i>Eureka</i>	schooner			captured 4 miles south of San Luis Pass, 13 July		2
<i>Excelsior</i>	schooner	78	7	captured 10 miles off Velasco, 24 Dec.		1
<i>Exchange</i>	schooner					1
<i>Express</i>	schooner					
<i>Fairy</i>	steamer	381		burned by master near Pascagoula, Miss., to prevent capture, 12 Sept.		5
<i>Fanny</i> [Fox]	schooner		4	captured lat. 23° N., long. 83° W., 13 June		2
<i>Fashion</i>	sloop			captured Apalachicola, 23 May		2
<i>Fash</i>	schooner					1
<i>Florida</i>	sloop			captured 2 miles inside St. Marks, Fla., lighthouse, 3 June	from	
<i>Florida</i>	schooner			captured 11 Jan.	for	
<i>Florrie</i>	schooner			captured 6 miles off Matagorda and burned, 2 Oct.		
<i>Flushing</i> [Nau Nan, <i>Little Lila</i> , <i>Little Lilly</i>]	steamer	117*		captured off Rio Grande, 12 Aug.		14
<i>Flying Scud</i>	schooner					1
<i>Foam</i>	schooner	381				
<i>Fox</i> [Fanny]	steamer	432 82/95	22			
<i>Fox</i> [Alice Vivian]	steamer			captured off Rio Brazos, 10 Oct.	for	2
<i>Frederic the Second</i>	schooner					
<i>Friendship</i>	schooner			captured Crystal River, Fla., 25 June	from	2
<i>Frolic</i>	sloop			captured off Mobile, 10 July	from	1
<i>General North</i>	schooner	17*		captured lat. 24° 25' N., long. 82° 22' W., 27 Aug.	from	5
<i>George</i>	schooner	5 (approx.)*		captured in Caloosahatchee River near Fort Myers, Fla., 29 July		

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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Ship	Type	Captain	Where	When	Notes	From	To
<i>Frederic the Second</i>	friendship						
<i>Frolic</i>	frigate						
<i>General Worth</i>	gunboat						
<i>George</i>	gunboat						
<i>Gipsy</i>	gunboat						
<i>Grey Jacket</i>	gunboat						
<i>G. Taylor</i>	gunboat						
<i>G. W. [or B. W.] Behn</i>	gunboat						
<i>Habanero [Montgomery]</i>	gunboat						
<i>Hancock</i>	gunboat						
<i>Hanover</i>	gunboat						
<i>Helen</i>	gunboat						
<i>Helena</i>	gunboat						
<i>Henrietta</i>	gunboat						
<i>Henry Lewis</i>	gunboat						
<i>Hero [Victor]</i>	gunboat						
<i>H. McGuin</i>	gunboat						
<i>Hortense</i>	gunboat						
<i>Hunter</i>	gunboat						
<i>Illa</i>	gunboat						
<i>Ingomar</i>	gunboat						
<i>Isabel</i>	gunboat						
<i>Isabel</i>	gunboat						
<i>Isabella</i>	gunboat						
<i>James Battle</i>	gunboat						
<i>James Williams</i>	gunboat						
<i>Jane</i>	gunboat						
<i>Jane Adele [or Adelle]</i>	gunboat						
<i>J. C. Guin</i>	gunboat						
<i>Jenny</i>	gunboat						
<i>Joe Flanner</i>	gunboat						
<i>John</i>	gunboat						
<i>John Douglass [Lilly]</i>	gunboat						
<i>John Scott [Victoria]</i>	gunboat						
<i>John Wesley</i>	gunboat						
<i>J. T. Davis</i>	gunboat						
<i>Julien</i>	gunboat						
<i>Juniper</i>	gunboat						
<i>Kate</i>	gunboat						

captured off Rio Brazos, 10 Oct.

captured Crystal River, Fla., 25 June

captured off Mobile, 24 Apr.

captured lat. 24° 25' N., long. 82° 22' W., 27 Aug.

captured in Caloosahatchee River near Fort Myers,

Fla., 29 July

captured St. Joseph's Bay, 20 Mar.

captured off Mobile, 31 Dec.

captured lat. 28° 32' N., long. 87° 12' W., 13 Sept.

captured Tampa Bay, 24 Dec.

chased ashore and burned, 10 May

captured off Mobile, 30 Dec.

captured 17 miles off Mobile, 30 June

captured Mississippi Sound, 22 Nov.

captured about 8 miles off Morro Castle (Havana), 8

May

captured Bay St. Louis, 18 June

captured lat. 29° 33' N., long. 85° 55' W., 18 Feb.

captured off Mobile, 17 May

captured Charlotte Harbor, beached and burned by

captors, 4 Mar.

captured Mobile Bay, 5 Aug.

burned off Mobile, 18 May

captured in Waccasassa Bay, 22 May

captured lat. 29° 21' N., long. 87° 08' W., 17 July

destroyed off Rio Brazos, 10 Oct.

captured off Mobile, 24 Apr.

captured coast of Texas, 6 Oct.

captured off Mobile, 24 Apr.

captured off Havana, 28 May

captured lat. 28° N., long. 83° W., 16 June

captured off Rio Grande, 10 Aug.

captured, 4 May

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Gulf Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Kate</i>	sloop			captured Port Isabel Light, 28 May	from	
<i>Kate Dale</i>	steamer			destroyed by fire in Hillsborough River, Fla., by boat expedition, U. S. Navy, 16 Oct.		
<i>Lady Maria</i>	schooner			captured lat. 28° 14' N., long. 83° 18' W., 6 July	from	
<i>Last Trial</i>	sloop			captured in Key West (intending to run blockade), about 6 Oct.		
<i>Laura</i>	sloop	51*				2
<i>Laura [General Buckner]</i>	steamer	261 88/95*				1
<i>Laura Dudley</i>	sloop			captured lat. 27° N., long. 86° W., 27 Apr.	for	3
<i>Leatlod</i>	schooner	39 30/95	6			1
<i>Lehma</i>	schooner					
<i>Leviathan</i>	steamer			captured off S.W. Pass of Mississippi River, 22 Sept.		1
<i>L. Gaynet</i>	schooner					3
<i>Lillie</i>	schooner					1
<i>Lilly [John Douglas]</i>	schooner					3
<i>Linnet</i>	schooner					
<i>Little Lila [Flushing, Little Lilly, Nan Nan]</i>	steamer	117*		captured lat. 26° N., long. 84° W., 21 May		
<i>Little Lilly [Flushing, Nan Nan, Little Lila]</i>	steamer					
<i>Lizzie Davis</i>	steamer			captured lat. 25° 58' N., long. 85° 11' W., 16 Sept.	for	1
<i>Mack Canfield</i>	schooner			captured off Rio Grande, 25 Aug.	from	2
<i>Maggie</i>	schooner					1
<i>Magnolia</i>	sloop	10*		captured lat. 26° 15' N., long. 82° W., 19 Dec.	for	1
<i>Mail [Susana, Susanna]</i>	steamer	108*	11	captured lat. 27° 57' N., long. 83° 09' W., 15 Oct.	from	
<i>Margaret</i>	schooner			captured lat. 27° N., long. 83° W., 1 Feb.	from	
<i>Maria</i>	schooner	75*				2
<i>Maria Alberta</i>	schooner			captured off Bayport, Fla., 27 Nov.	for	
<i>Maria Louisa</i>	schooner					1
<i>Marshall J. Smith</i>	schooner	15*		captured off Mobile, 9 Dec.	for	1
<i>Martha Jane</i>	schooner		5	captured off Bayport, Fla., 20 Oct.	from	
<i>Mary Ann</i>	steamer	311*				2
<i>Mary Ann</i>	schooner			destroyed lat. 26° 22' N., long. 97° W., 26 Nov.	from	
<i>Mary Campbell</i>	schooner			captured off Pensacola, 14 Nov.		1
<i>Mary Elizabeth</i>	schooner			while being chased, ran aground on small key near Clearwater, and destroyed, 18 June	for	
<i>Mary Jane</i>	schooner					
<i>Max P. Barton</i>	steamer					1
<i>Matamoros [Alice]</i>	steamer			captured in the Rocklands, 1 Nov.		
<i>Matamoros</i>	schooner			wrecked in Matamoros Bay.		
<i>Matilda</i>	schooner			captured lat. 23° 27' N., long. 83° 08' W., 13 Apr.	for	
<i>Matilda</i>	schooner					

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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Ship	Type	Date	Where	How	Notes
Mary Jane	Schooner				while being chased, ran aground on small key near Clearwater, and destroyed, 18 June
Mary P. Burton	Schooner				
Matamoros	Schooner				captured in the Rio Grande, 1 Nov.
Matilda	Schooner				wrecked in Matagorda Bay, 13 Apr.
Mattie	Schooner				captured lat. 23° 27' N., long. 83° 08' W., 13 Apr.
Mary Flowers	Sloop				
Medora	Schooner				
Meador	Schooner				
Minnie	Sloop				
Miriam	Schooner				
Mischief	Schooner				
Mississippi	Schooner				
Montgomery (Habano)	Schooner				
Non Nan (Little Tila, Little Lily)	Steamer				
Nellie Blair	Schooner				
Neptune	Schooner				
Nina	Schooner				
Nita	Schooner				
Nymph	Sloop				
Ocean	Schooner				
Oliver S. Breze	Schooner				
Onward	Schooner				
Oscar	Sloop				
Paul	Schooner				
Pelican	Steamer				
Petite Clementine	Schooner				
Pioneer	Schooner				
Planter	Steamer				
Powerful	Steamer				
Prima Dona	Schooner				
Prima Donna	Schooner				
Pushmataha	Schooner				
Ranger	Schooner				
Rapid	Schooner				
Raton del Nilo	Schooner				
Ray	Schooner				
Rebeck	Schooner				
Relampago	Sloop				
Relampago	Sloop				
Relief	Schooner				
Reserve	Schooner				
Retriever	Schooner				
Revenge	Schooner				

NAME OF VESSEL	Type	Tons	Crew	Place and Date Captured, Lost, or Destroyed	Bound for or from Gulf Port	Known Successful Runs During Year
<i>Richard</i>	sloop				from	4
<i>Richards</i>	sloop			captured Charlotte Harbor, 31 Aug.		
<i>Ripple</i>	schooner			captured Boca Grande, 1 Feb.	from	3
<i>Rob Roy</i>	schooner			captured off Mobile, 18 May		2
<i>Roebuck</i>	schooner					1
<i>Rosita</i> [Union, Caroline]	steamer					
<i>Royal Yacht</i>	schooner				from	2
<i>Ruby</i>	steamer			captured off Galveston, 14 Apr.		2
<i>Sam Slick</i>	sloop	161 74/95				1
<i>Sarah</i>	schooner					1
<i>Sarah Jordan</i>	schooner					1
<i>Science</i>	bark					2
<i>Scottish Chief</i>	steamer			captured in the Rio Grande, 4 Nov. destroyed in Hillsborough River by armed expedition, U. S. Navy, 16 Oct.	for	
<i>Sea Bird</i>	schooner				for	
<i>Seadrift</i>	schooner	62 85/95	4	captured lat. 29° 40' N., long. 87° 37' W., 13 May	for	
<i>Sea Lion</i>	schooner			captured off Matagorda Island, 22 June	for	1
<i>Sea Lion</i>	schooner	63 80/95		captured off Mobile, 9 May	from	
<i>Shot</i>	schooner			captured off Gilbert's Bar, Fla., 8 Aug.		
<i>Silas Henry</i>	sloop			captured Tampa Bay, 8 Jan.	from	
<i>Sir Wm. Peel</i>	steamer			captured off Rio Grande, 11 Sept.		
<i>Soler</i> [Worcester, of Fall River steamers]	steamer					2
<i>Southern Rights</i>	schooner			captured off Gilbert's Bar, Fla., 8 Aug.	for	
<i>Southern Star</i>	sloop			captured St. Martin's Reef off the Withlacooche River	for	
<i>Star</i>	schooner		3	seized inside the bar, Brazos Santiago, 30 May	from	
<i>Star</i>	schooner					
<i>Statesman</i>	schooner			captured off Tampa, 6 June		1
<i>Stingaree</i>	schooner					1
<i>Stingray</i> [Stingra]	schooner					1
<i>Stonewall</i>	schooner					1
<i>Surprise</i>	schooner	70 (approx.)*		captured off Punta Rasa, Fla., 20 Feb.		
<i>Surprise</i>	schooner					4
<i>Tampico</i> [Tailight]	schooner			captured lat. 26° N., long. 83° W., 13 Mar.	from	
<i>Temperance</i>	schooner	70*	6	captured off Sabine Pass, 3 Mar. or 3 Apr.	from	
<i>Teresa</i>	schooner			captured lat. 27° 30' N., long. 83° 02' W., —		1
<i>Teresita</i>	bark			captured off Rio Grande, — November		
<i>Three Brothers</i>	schooner					
<i>Tom Sugg</i>	steamer			captured Texas River, — July		1
<i>Uncle Bill</i> [Albert Edwards]	schooner					
<i>Union</i> [Rosita, Caroline]	steamer	104 74/95				
<i>Vanguard</i>	schooner			burned off Texas coast, 20 May		
<i>Victoria</i>	sloop					

SHIPS THAT TESTED THE BLOCKADE

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Ship	Type	Date	Where	Result
Three Brothers	schooner			
Tom Sugg	steamer			
Uncle Bill [Albert Edward]	schooner			
Union [Rosita, Caroline]	steamer	04/24/95		
Vanguard	steamer		burned off Texas coast, 30 May	
Victoria	sloop			
Victoria [John Scott]	schooner			
Virginia	schooner			
Volante	brig			
Warrior	steamer	500*	captured off Rio Grande, 4 Nov.	
Waterloo	schooner		captured lat. 26° N., long. 86° W., 16 Aug.	for
Wave	schooner			
Wenona [Albert]	schooner		captured lat. 26° 50' N., long. 96° 30' W., 22 Aug.	from
Wide Awake [Emma, Break o' Day]	schooner	91*		
Willow	schooner			
William A. Kain	schooner			
William Bagley	steamer	396 30/95	captured 176 miles S. 34° E. from Mobile Bay, 18 July	from
William Batty	sloop			
Worcester [Solen]	steamer			
Ysabel	steamer			

Summary for 1863:

Vessels engaged in the business: steamers 38, others, including unascertained types, 216, total 254
 Number of runs attempted: steamers 99, others, including unascertained types, 329, total 428
 Successful runs: steamers 73, others, including unascertained types, 193, total 266
 Unsuccessful runs: steamers 26, others, including unascertained types, 136, total 162
 Percentage of successful runs: steamers 74%, others, including unascertained types, 58%, all types 62%

To be continued

Notes

BRAZILIAN STUDENTS OF NAVAL CONSTRUCTION

The records of the Bureau of Yards and Docks now in the National Archives show the relations of the United States and Brazil over a hundred years ago when two youths from Brazil became 'internes' at the Norfolk Navy Yard. This episode is to be found in a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to the Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks dated 9 April 1845. This letter bears the autograph of George Bancroft and reads as follows:

Sir,

Two youths, whose names are Antonio Joze Andrade and Joao Dionisio Nascimento, natives of Brazil, have been sent to the United States, at the request of the Brazilian Government, in the frigate *Congress*, for the purpose of being employed in one of our navy yards, to learn the art of ship building as practised and taught therein. The Department takes pleasure in gratifying this wish of a friendly Power, which thus manifests a marked preference for our naval establishments, and directs that these youths be admitted into the navy yard at Norfolk, to be placed under the charge of the Naval Constructor, Mr. Rhodes. It is the desire of the Department that these youths be looked after by Mr. Rhodes with some care, as far as instruction goes. They are to be considered as Constructor's apprentices, in regard to their employment, and will be required of course to submit to the discipline of the yard as respects subordination and deportment. They are not to receive any pay from the Government; their expenses for board, clothing, &c. will be attended to by the Brazilian Minister.

Commo: L. Warrington
Chief of the Bureau
of Yards and Docks

Very respectfully
Your obed. Servt.
George Bancroft

RICHARD G. WOOD

FORGOTTEN AMERICAN VISITORS TO AUSTRALIA

SINCE I wrote the note published in THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE for April 1951, pointing out that the privateer *Hera* had to be removed from the list of American vessels visiting Australia between 1792 and 1812, I have found records of two American vessels never previously noted, as far as I know, as touching anywhere in Australasia.

The first was *Asia* or *Alice* of New York (one reference gives the name as *Asia*, the other as *Alice*) which touched at Norfolk Island on her way to Canton. She arrived on 3 October and sailed on 5 October 1795. She carried a despatch from the Lieutenant-Governor of the island, Captain Philip G. King, to the Secretary of State in London, which was duly delivered; it was no doubt transferred to an East India Company vessel in Ceylon. The records of *Asia's* visit are preserved in the Norfolk Island papers in the Public Record Office, London (C. 201).

This was the first New York vessel to touch at any place in Australasia. The second was *Wertha Ann*, which visited Sydney, N. S. W., in 1803.

Another new visitor was *Brutus* of Boston, Captain Dorr, which touched at Port Dalrymple (Launceston) and Hobart Town in Van Diemen's Island, Tasmania, in 1811. The *Sydney Gazette* of 4 May 1811 (then the only newspaper in Australia) gives a report brought by the schooner *Governor Bligh* that *Brutus* had been at Port Dalrymple about 20 February and had gone on to Hobart Town, now Hobart.

These vessels bring the number of American vessels visiting Australia between 1792 and 1812 to 59. Providence, R. I., heads the list with 15; Boston now has 14 and New York 9.

THOMAS DUNBABIN

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- HUTCHINS, J. G. B., United States Merchant Marine Policy and Surplus Ships, 9 pp.; *Jour. Political Econ.*, April.
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- Wages and Service Conditions in British Ships, 9 pp.; *Journal of Commerce & Shipping Telegraph, Annual Rev.*, 1950.
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VI. Inland Navigation

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- FINLAYSON, ISOBEL, York Boat Journal: A gently reared, delicate Englishwoman comes out to Rupert's Land in 1840 and travels from York Fort to Red River in an open boat, introd., by A. M. Johnson; *Beaver*, Sept. to Dec.
- GOULD, E. W., *Fifty Years on the Mississippi, or Gould's History of River Navigation*, 749 pp.; \$10.00; Columbus, Long's College Book Store. Facsimile reprint of the 1889 St. Louis edition.
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- River Namesakes of the State of Ohio. *Ohio State Archaeol. & Hist. Quar.*, July. Steamboat names.

VII. Seaports and Coastal Areas

- BEIRNE, F. F., *The Amiable Baltimoreans*, 400 pp.; \$5.00; N. Y., Dutton, Ch. 3, 'The Port.'
- BELL, DANIEL, The Last of the Business Rackets, 'Dirty work on the waterfront is speeding the decline of the once-supreme Port of New York,' 9 pp.; *Fortune*, June.
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- Dockland: Ships, Men, Machines; Brooklyn's Waterfront, 2 pp.; *New York Times Magazine*, Dec. 2.
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- HOWE, HENRY, *Salt Rivers of the Massachusetts Shore* (Rivers of America, v. 45), 370 pp.; \$4.00; N. Y., Rinehart.
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- TRIMBLE, PETER, Thought Control on the Waterfront, 3 pp.; *Nation*, July 14.

VIII. Shipbuilding and Allied Topics

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- BAMFORD, P. W., *French Naval Timber: A Study of the Relation of Forests to French Sea Power, 1660-1789*. Unpublished Columbia Ph.D. Thesis.
- BELMAN, A. A., Wage Chronology: Bethlehem Atlantic Shipyards, 1941-1951, 6 pp.; *Monthly Labor Rev.*, Sept.
- BROWN, A. C., *Notes on the Origins of Iron Shipbuilding in the United States, 1825-1861*, 268 MS. pp.; unpublished William & Mary M.A. Thesis. Appendix A: Register of Iron Hull Vessels built in the U. S., 1825-1861.
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- CHAPPELLE, H. I., *American Small Sailing Craft: Their Design, Development and Construction*, 363 pp.; \$7.50; N. Y., Norton. Deals mainly with boats less than 40 feet in length; includes over 100 plans and illustrations. Full-sized copies of plans available from publisher.
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- HENNIKER, M. C. A., The Launch of H. M. S. *Fidal*, 4 pp.; *Blackwood's*, Nov. Description of ceremonies of launching of survey ship at Chatham Dockyard.
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GLOVER, R. G., ed. La Perouse on Hudson Bay: An eye-witness account, hitherto unpublished, of the French capture and destruction of Prince of Wales's Fort and York Factory in 1782, tr. Gertrude Lang, 5 pp.: *Beaver*, March.

GRAFF, H. F., Bluejackets with Perry in Japan: A Day-by-Day Account by Master's Mate John R. C. Lewis and Cabin Boy William B. Allen. *Bull. N. Y. Public Library*, Jan. to July (started in 1950).

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X. Naval to 1939—Other Regions

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- CUNNINGHAM (A. B.), VISCOUNT, OF HYNDHOPE, RN, *A Sailor's Odyssey: The Autobiography of Admiral of the Fleet Viscount Cunningham of Hyndhope*, 715 pp.: \$7.50; N. Y., Dutton.
- DILLON, R. H., The Last Plan to seize the Manila Galleon, 3 pp.: *Pac. Hist. Rev.*, May.
- GRENFELL, RUSSELL, RN, *Main Fleet to Singapore*, 238 pp.: 18s; London, Faber. Covers whole story of the naval base project.
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- JONES, E. H. S., RN, *The Last Invasion of Britain*, 324 pp.: 35s; Univ. of Wales Press. Abortive landing from two French frigates on Welsh coast, Feb. 22, 1797.
- KEMP, P. K., RN, *Nine Vanguarders*, 236 pp.: 18s; London, Hutchinson. Account of the nine British warships of that name since 1586.
- KENNEDY, L. H. C., *Nelson's Captains*, 386 pp.: \$5.00; N. Y., Norton. The English edition has the title *The Band of Brothers*.
- LEWIS, A. R., see Sect. IV.
- MARDER, A. J., *Portrait of an Admiral: the Life and Papers of Sir Herbert Richmond*, 25s; London, Cape.
- MOUNTEVANS, E. R. G. R. E., BARON, RN, *Happy Adventures: an Autobiography*, 130 pp.: \$2.50; N. Y., Funk. British admiral; second in command Scott Antarctic expedition and general distinguished career.
- POLLOCK, *Pioneers. Some Nineteenth-Century Leaders*, 72 pp.: 2s; London, Tyndale. Includes sketch of Lord Barham, First Lord of the Admiralty at time of Trafalgar.
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- COPE, HARLEY, USN, & KARIG, WALTER, USNR, *Battle Submerged: Submarine Fighters of World War II*, 244 pp.: \$3.75; N. Y., Norton.
- CRAMER, F. H., Pacific: Sea of Decision, 23 pp.: *Current History*, Feb.-April.
- CUNNINGHAM, VISCOUNT, see Sect. IX. Author was C-in-C Eastern Mediterranean and later First Sea Lord.
- DE BELOT, RAYMOND, *The Struggle for the Mediterranean, 1939-1945*, tr. J. A. Field, Jr., 287 pp.: \$4.00; Princeton. Analysis of operations by French admiral.
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- An 'Economic Dunkirk,' 3 pp.: *Ill. London News*, Oct. 13. Staff of Anglo-Iranian leaving Abadan in British cruiser, Oct. 3, 1951.
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- (FORRESTAL, JAMES), *Diaries*, ed. Walter Millis & E. S. Duffield, 581 pp.: \$5.00; N. Y., Viking.

- GALLERY, D. V., USN, *Clear the Decks!*, 242 pp.; \$3.50; N. Y., Morrow. Experiences of author's 'baby flat top' in Battle of the Atlantic.
- GOLDINGHAM, C. S., Japanese Submarines in the Second World War, 8 pp.; *United Service*, Feb.
- GRENFELL, RUSSELL, see SECT. X.
- HARRISON, G. A., *Cross-Channel Attack (U. S. Army in World War II, Office of the Chief of Military History)*, 519 pp.; \$5.25; Washington, G. P. O. The Normandy Invasion.
- HINSLEY, F. H., *Hitler's Strategy; the Naval Evidence*, 244 pp.; \$3.75; N. Y., Cambridge. Emphasis on failure to appreciate the naval factors.
- HOWARTH, DAVID, *The Shetland Bus*, 220 pp.; 12s 6d; London, Nelson. Wartime 'underground' communication between Norway and Shetlands by fishing boats with Norwegian crews, under direction of author.
- The Hungnam Evacuation, 4 pp.; *Ill. London News*, Jan. 6. Pictures of withdrawal from Korean port, with comments.
- HUTTON, R. M. J., RN, *The Future of Maritime Power*, 12 pp.; *United Service*, May.
- ISLEY, J. A. & CROWL, P. A., *The U. S. Marines and Amphibious War; Its Theory and Practice in the Pacific*, 636 pp.; \$7.50; Princeton. Written under contract between Marine Corps and Princeton History Dept.
- JANNEY, ELIOT, *Struggle for Survival: a Chronicle of Economic Mobilization in World War II* (Chronicles of America, v. 53), 382 pp.; \$5.00 (textbook ed., \$2.50), Yale.
- KERR, G. F., *Business in Great Waters. The War History of the P. & O., 1939-1945*, 196 pp.; 12s 6d; London, Faber.
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- MORISON, S. E., USNR, *Aleutians, Gilberts, and Marshalls, June 1942-April 1944 (History of U. S. Naval Operations in World War II, v. 7)*, 369 pp.; \$6.00; Boston, Little, Brown. Includes Introduction on Fast Carrier Operations, 1943-45, by Cdr. J. C. Shaw, USN. This volume marks the half-way point in the projected 14-volume series.
- NELSON, D. D., *Integration of the Negro into the United States Navy*, 256 pp.; \$4.00; N. Y., Farrar.
- PLosz, A. J., *The Navy's Unorthodox War*, 8 pp.; *Public Affairs*, Summer; Canadian Navy in Korean fighting.
- STANFORD, ALFRED, USNR, *Force Mulberry*, 240 pp.; \$3.50; N. Y., Morrow. Creation of artificial harbors for Normandy landings.
- U. S. COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY, *World War II History of the Coast and Geodetic Survey*, 58 pp.; Washington, G. P. O.

XII. Marine Art, Ship Models, Collections, Exhibits

- CLARE, CHARLES, J. M. W. Turner, *His Life and Works*, 128 pp.; \$4.00; N. Y., Crown.
- DAVIDSON, M. B., *Life in America*, 2 v., 573, 503 pp.; \$20.00; Boston, Houghton, Mifflin. Many of the 1200 illustrations and much of the text devoted to American maritime history. Published in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See esp. Ch. 3, 'Square Rigger Empire.'
- Naval History in Paint: National Maritime Museum Acquisitions, *Ill. London News*, Oct. 13.
- THE MARINERS MUSEUM, *American Merchant Sailing Vessels of the Nineteenth Century* (Publication No. 22), 27 pp.; 75 cents; Newport News, The Museum. Catalogue of exhibition of pictures, ship models, chinaware, etc.
- OLDS, IRVING, *Bits and Pieces of American History*, 463 pp.; N. Y. Privately printed. A catalogue of the Olds collection of American naval prints.
- REEVE, BERNARD & THOMAS, P. W., *Scale Model Ships: Their Engines and Construction: A Practical Manual on the building of Workable Power Plants for Amateur Constructors*, 284 pp.; \$4.50; N. Y. British Book Centre.

- A Romantic Impressionist: James Hamilton, 8 pp.; *The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin*, Spring. Illustrated article on American marine painting.
- TRUXTUN-DECATUR NAVAL MUSEUM, *Sea Power and Early American History*, 14 pp.; Washington, The Museum. Exhibition catalogue, Feb.-May.
- *United States Naval Aviation in Review, 1911-1951*, 29 pp. See also next item.
- U. S. COAST GUARD, *United States Coast Guard in Action since 1790*, Exhibition at the Truxtun-Decatur Naval Museum, Nov. 16, 1951-March 2, 1952 (CG 246), Washington, G. P. O.

XIII. Periodicals

- Polaris*: The Kings Point Journal of Maritime Affairs. Ed. Walter Bagnall. Quarterly. ill. \$2.50 (two years, \$4.50). U. S. Merchant Marine Academy, King's Point, N. Y. Starts with 'Winter, 1951-1952' issue; successor to earlier academy *Polaris*. Each issue will contain a detailed 'Index to Maritime Periodicals,' edited by Lt. E. H. Northrop, USMS, assistant librarian, 'a subject index to approximately forty American, British, and Canadian shipping journals, plus certain other titles indexed only occasionally.' This index, dealing mainly with current topics, forms a useful corollary to the NEPTUNE's historical bibliographies.
- The Mast Magazine* suspended publication, at least for the present, with the December 1951 issue.